

INTRODUCTION: DEAD SEA SCROLLS RESEARCH IN OXFORD

THE study of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, of the history and literature of ancient Judaism, and of the New Testament and early Christianity was dramatically energized by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls shortly after World War II. Certain areas of research in these three fields of inquiry changed out of all recognition. In other areas, however, perhaps particularly within biblical studies, the disciplinary gains in understanding were not always consolidated, and have sometimes appeared in recent years to give way to a renewed balkanization of subdisciplines and specializations.

To counteract this perceived loss of dialogue and awareness, the essays in this collection bear witness to a fruitful and sustained interdisciplinary collaboration on the Dead Sea Scrolls that took place in Oxford during the academic year 2018–2019. An important additional aim of the collaboration was to refresh and energize Oxford's long-standing traditions of excellence in the interdisciplinary study of the Scrolls. The project actively involved three of the University's weekly research seminars—in Hebrew Bible/Old Testament (Najman), Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman World (Goodman), and New Testament (Bockmuehl)—and culminated in a shared day conference in June 2019. Numerous Oxford graduate students as well as senior local and international speakers contributed to the success of this initiative. We are delighted to be able to gather some of the fruits of our collaboration in this special issue of *Revue de Qumran*, thanks to a generous invitation from its Director Prof. Jean-Sébastien Rey and his Editorial Board.

The remainder of this Introduction provides an overview designed to place the essays in this collection in their context of conversation. This overview in turn is followed by Martin Goodman's reflections

on the intellectual impact of Scrolls research in Oxford over the 40 years or more of his own involvement here—a personal note complementing the history of scholarship represented in the first main article by George J. Brooke.

Although it has not been possible to include all the papers presented over the course of the project, the five included in this issue of the *Revue* do offer a flavour of its distinctive achievement. They include the exciting voices of key early-career scholars along with two long-standing external friends of Oxford Scrolls research, whose papers contribute the disciplinary perspective of senior statesmen in the field. At a time when biblical scholars too often opt for safety behind conventional (and what Martin Goodman below calls “self-referential”) disciplinary boundaries and competences, these essays venture forth on a wider intellectual canvas—engaging the resonant and nuanced relationships of texts and traditions across the Scrolls with the Hebrew Bible, Philo of Alexandria, apocalyptic literature, the New Testament, the Tannaitic rabbis, and more.

George J. Brooke, Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship in Oxford: Past, Present and Future

First delivered at the concluding day conference in June 2019, George Brooke’s paper opens this collection with a magisterial survey of Oxford’s contribution to the history of Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship. Beginning with Godfrey R. Driver, Chaim Rabin and Cecil Roth in the late 1940s and 1950s, Oxford scholars contributed to preliminary and often experimental attempts to narrow down the Scrolls’ likely period of origin and ideological home. Might they belong to the period of late antiquity (Driver)? Were they the product of a previously known Jewish group like the Zealots or Zadokites (Roth, Driver), Pharisees (Rabin) or perhaps the Essenes, as increasing numbers of scholars preferred? Among Driver’s students of this period who went on to influential work in the Scrolls was Preben H.C. Wernberg-Møller (initially appointed to a post at Manchester before later returning to Oxford). Driver also nominated his young students John M. Allegro and John Strugnell for the editorial team working on the Scrolls at Jerusalem’s Palestine Archaeological Museum, where they went on to exercise positions of influence and prominence for several decades.

Oxford’s other major involvement with the Scrolls in the 1950s came through the commitment of Oxford University Press to the definitive *editio princeps* of the Scrolls through its series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (40 vols, 1955–2009).

Moving on to what he calls the ‘middle period’ of Dead Sea Scrolls study in Oxford, Brooke rightly highlights the towering influence of Geza Vermes, both in post for nearly a quarter of a century (1965–1991) and continuing for many years in retirement. Aside from his influential but largely unconnected series of books on the historical Jesus and his role in the comprehensive revision of Emil Schürer’s *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (4 vols, 1973–1987), Vermes became best known for successive editions of his translation (*The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*) and of an Introduction to the Dead Sea Scrolls. He joined the official editorial team for the Scrolls in 1991. Distinguished collaborators on the “the revised Schürer” included Martin Goodman and Philip Alexander, both of whom continued to pursue and support relevant research in Oxford after Vermes’s retirement. Two of his doctoral students, Jonathan Campbell and Timothy Lim, went on to build influential careers around the study of the Scrolls. The same was true for George Brooke and Daniel Falk, who worked at the Oxford Centre of Hebrew and Jewish Studies as Kennicott Fellows in the 1970s and 1990s, respectively.

After a temporary ‘lull’ in study of the Scrolls, Brooke discerns at present a fresh stimulus to Oxford Scrolls scholarship dating from Martin Goodman’s collaboration with more recently appointed colleagues Markus Bockmuehl and Hindy Najman. The resulting stimulus of work on the Scrolls has benefited from their distinctive interests in tradition and commentary in early Christianity, the history of Hebrew lexicography and the text of the Hebrew and Greek Bible, and the interpretative processes of scriptural production and transmission in the Second Temple period.

This newly energized enterprise has been further strengthened in important ways by associated postdoctoral scholars including Yael Fisch, Daniel Schumann and John Srenock—who contribute the following three studies to the present collection. These essays by early career scholars exemplify something of this joint project’s interdisciplinarity in related but distinctive ways. Each one highlights a case study of scriptural interpretation and appropriation in the Scrolls by relating this to one or more bodies of cognate biblical, Jewish or Christian texts.

Yael Fisch, “Midrash-Pesher”: A Shared Technique of Interpretation in Qumran, Paul, and the Tannaim

The project’s rich interdisciplinary potential is illustrated by Yael Fisch’s comparative study of the distinctive hermeneutical technique that she proposes to designate by repurposing the term “midrash-pesher”.

She sees here a tool of biblical interpretation that is shared both with Paul's letter to the Romans and especially with at least 50 rabbinic texts of the Tannaitic period. For each of these instantiations, the lemmatization of the scriptural verse is linked by repeated demonstrative pronouns to an interpretation that is thereby typically interlaced throughout the citation.

Although the designation "midrash pesher" was in the past rightly rejected by scholarship as an implausible hybrid between a rabbinic genre and a feature of the so-called pesher commentaries, Fisch argues that in fact the associated rhetorical form functions effectively both in the Damascus Document and in the Nahum Pesher. The use of an analogous technique for the interpretation of Deut 30.12–14 in Romans 10.6–8 has been discussed more widely by Lim and others.

Fisch draws particular attention to the frequency of examples with similar demonstrative pronouns in Tannaitic literature. What she calls "midrash-pesher" may (as at Qumran or in Paul) or may not (as typically in Tannaitic literature) have an eschatological point of reference. What matters more in this regard is that in each case the proposed interpretation is comprehensive in its constitution of a fully sympathetic and harmonious relationship between the text and its "contemporized" scriptural meaning. Unlike at Qumran or in the New Testament, in Tannaitic discourse this meaning is no longer depicted as univocal. These and other contrasts illustrate that this same "midrash-pesher" tool can be put to different uses in these three bodies of literature.

Daniel Schumann, The Eschatologization of the Exodus Narrative in *1 Enoch* 1–5

Noting the extent to which prophetic texts like Isa 43–44, Hos 11 and Ezek 20 redeploy aspects of the Exodus narrative in eschatological terms, Daniel Schumann finds a similar exegetical appropriation in play for the Book of Watchers, in *1 Enoch* 1–5 (seen here as marked by the turmoil of the Ptolemaic era). He locates this redeployment particularly in the initiation of a new exodus associated with the language of a call to the wilderness and the eschatological renewal of the cosmic theophany at Sinai. Linking this to *1 Enoch*'s earliest identifiable reception history in the Qumran community, Schumann documents the extent to which members of the *Yahad* construed their identity around the notion that they were called to a period of exile in the wilderness in advance of the promised redemption in Jerusalem. With or without the context of an eschatological battle along the lines of Ezek 38, this textual reappropriation of the Exodus expresses the conviction that God would once again deliver Israel from oppression by foreign nations.

John Screnock, A Reading of Psalm 104:1–13 according to the Text Contained in 4QPsalms^d

John Screnock's study develops a close philological reading of Psalm 104, based for this purpose not on the Leningrad Masoretic manuscript but on the text represented in 4QPsalms^d. Traditional interpretations of this Psalm tend to foreground its role primarily as reprising the creation account in Genesis 1. By contrast, Screnock underscores the Qumran text's apparent concern to move the frame of reference from the past to the present. On this account, the reader is repeatedly invited to reflect on the possibility that the Creator exercises an abiding and all-pervasive role in *creatio continua*: that is to say, God not only created the world in the past but continues at all times to exercise his creative power in sustaining and establishing it. As Screnock notes, this is a point made more explicit in 11QPs^a 26 ('Hymn to the Creator') and indeed in several later Jewish and Christian liturgical expressions.

Eibert Tigchelaar, The Hodayot: Scrolls, Compositions, and Collections

In his concluding essay, Eibert Tigchelaar supplements the relative breadth and *longue durée* of George Brooke's survey of Scrolls research in Oxford by critically engaging contemporary scholarship on one set of texts in particular: the Qumran Hymns or *Hodayot*. Tigchelaar begins by analyzing different models of their interpretation in publications since the work of Stegemann, Puech and Schuller in the 1990s as well as Harkins since the mid-2000s. His critique of these and other more recent attempts to reconstruct the composition and collection of the *Hodayot* stresses the need for further research (not least on the reconstruction of 1QH^a 2–8), before going on to illustrate the extent to which contemporary interpretation of these Hymns has been a function of particular models and assumptions about the composition and collection of texts. The Hodayot Scroll from Cave 1 is clearly a textual composite, written by three scribes. But Tigchelaar suggests that it was in fact produced and deposited in antiquity as an artefactual whole, whose disintegrating remains were only divided into two separate bundles after their rediscovery by the Bedouin in the 1940s.

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OXFORD AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

THE history of research in Oxford into the Dead Sea scrolls is traced in detail by George Brooke in his generous account below and I shall not seek to replicate his analysis here, but it may be of interest to offer some personal reflections about the impact of study of the scrolls on intellectual life in Oxford, particularly in the years since the mid-1970s which I have been able to observe, for the most part, at first hand. If we recognise now the significance of the scrolls for the separate disciplines of Jewish studies, biblical studies, and classics that has not always been so. I shall look at each in turn.

In the 1970s, Jewish studies in Oxford was dominated by Geza Vermes, who had been appointed to the Readership in Jewish Studies in 1965 in succession to Cecil Roth. The Readership was essentially a research position, with minimal teaching responsibilities, and the post-holder had complete freedom in deciding which aspects of postbiblical Jewish culture to investigate. Roth had written a bit about the scrolls in the 1950s, but his main research areas had been in Jewish history from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, and the appointment of Vermes marked a major shift in direction and was viewed by many at the time as surprising.

The election seems to have been engineered by Godfrey Driver, who had first met Vermes in 1954 in Cambridge. Driver was retired by 1965, but he still dominated the Faculty of Oriental Studies, having been responsible for creating the Oriental Institute, which opened in 1961, to provide a physical focus for the faculty, which had undergone considerable expansion in recent years. In 1963 he had reviewed favourably Vermes's *Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, and he was well aware of Vermes's work on Qumran history (even if he and Vermes disagreed on the nature of the Jewish group behind the sectarian scrolls). When Vermes had written to him before applying for the Readership to ask if it would be worthwhile to apply, Driver had responded that 'as I am a member of the electoral board, it would be improper for me to say

much except that if you submit your papers, they will be seriously considered'. In the event, when Vermes applied, was offered the post without interview, and accepted the offer without hesitation, he received next day a note saying 'Welcome to Oxford', signed 'G.R.D'.

Driver's motive may well have been primarily to secure the post for Oriental Studies. The Readership was a statutory post elected by four faculties (Modern History, Oriental Studies, *Literae Humaniores*, and Theology), and Roth had been classified as a historian until he fell out with his fellow historians, by whom he felt cold-shouldered, and defected to Oriental Studies to find a more congenial home. Vermes recorded in his autobiography that the orientalist were strikingly warm in their welcome, providing him with an office in the Oriental Institute, unlike the historians, who had no office space to offer.

Roth had taught few students, but Vermes began to recruit graduate students soon after his arrival in Oxford, founding a regular research seminar (on Tuesday afternoons) and setting up a masters degree in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period—one of the earliest taught masters degrees to be established in Oxford. Study of the scrolls was integrated into the Masters course and Vermes engendered a welcoming atmosphere in which a cohort of students from a variety of backgrounds would gather regularly to talk about the scrolls and related topics over coffee. The research seminar, which focussed a good deal on bible interpretation, allowed for considerable attention to Qumran materials and regularly included the participation of senior Oxford scholars such as Sebastian Brock (although I am not aware that Preben Wernberg-Møller, who had himself worked on the scrolls in the 1950s and had come back to Oxford as Reader in Semitic Philology soon after the arrival of Vermes, ever attended). Presumably as a result of the seminar and Vermes's publications, I suspect that in the mid-1970s Jewish Studies in Oxford must have had a reputation for what seemed to outsiders an excessive focus on the scrolls, since I recall being congratulated at interview in early 1977 for a research post (to which I was not appointed) on having avoided a focus on the scrolls in my doctoral thesis—although in fact very few of Vermes's doctoral students were set to work on Qumran topics, presumably because Vermes, whose own doctorate in the early 1950s had been composed with the benefit of constantly emerging new texts, felt constrained by the glacial publication of the scrolls in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the late 1980s the Seminar took advantage of unauthorised leaks of materials which had not yet been officially published by dilatory editors to host a flurry of papers on aspects of the scrolls. The sense of rule-breaking in studying these materials engendered an excited atmosphere of expectation (by no means always fulfilled) that important new

insights would result, but more solid work was possible only once the scrolls were made more generally available from the autumn of 1991. This date coincided with Vermes's retirement from his university post, but he was appointed by the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies to a specially created position as Director of the Oxford Forum for Qumran Research, which enabled him to continue to invite scrolls specialists to speak to the Tuesday seminar for a number of sessions each term, a role he fulfilled up to 2008. Vermes's influence and presence, along with that of other scrolls scholars such as Philip Alexander, Timothy Lim and Daniel Falk, ensured in any case that, within Jewish studies in Oxford, the significance of the scrolls for understanding late Second Temple Judaism was sufficiently established for Qumran evidence frequently to be adduced in research papers delivered to the Tuesday seminar in the decades after 1990 even when they were not under the auspices of the Qumran forum.

Within biblical studies, the impact of the scrolls in Oxford has been more oblique until quite recent times, although the leading Oxford figures in the study of the Hebrew Bible, from the 1980s to the 2000s, including the Regius Professors of Hebrew (James Barr, succeeded by Hugh Williamson) and the Oriel Professors for the Interpretation of Holy Scripture (Ernest Nicholson, followed by John Barton), naturally took account of arguments about the implications of the scrolls for understanding the creation and development of the biblical text propounded both by Vermes, in his occasional forays into biblical studies, and by Emanuel Tov, who became a frequent visitor to Oxford in his role as editor-in-chief of the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series published by Oxford University Press. Among the distinguished New Testament scholars in Oxford, Ed Sanders, Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture in the late 1980s, was more interested in encouraging responsible use of rabbinic texts for interpreting early Christian writings than in direct study of the scrolls. Both he and his successor, Chris Rowland, who focused primarily on the history of apocalyptic, made good use of the findings of scrolls specialists when this was relevant to their arguments, but it was rare for them or their students to study the scrolls independently.

Even less attention was paid to the scrolls by Oxford classicists in the decades before 2010. This lack of interest is in some ways surprising in light of the size and heterogeneity of the Faculty of Classics (previously *Litterae Humaniores*), which constitutes the largest conglomeration of scholars of classical antiquity to be found in any university in the world. Many initiatives could have prepared the ground for a fuller appreciation of the evidence from Qumran: from the 1970s quite a few Oxford ancient historians, such as David Lewis, Oswyn Murray

and Fergus Millar, incorporated the Near East into their study and teaching of Greek and Roman history; teaching of ancient religions, including Judaism, was embedded in the undergraduate Classics syllabus through the initiative of Simon Price; a regular cross-faculty research seminar on ancient religions, established in the late 1980s by Simon Price, Ed Sanders and Martin Goodman, morphed in the early 2000s into the Oxford end of the Oxford-Princeton programme for the Cultures and Religions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

It cannot be said that study of the Dead Sea scrolls featured greatly in any of these developments. Even more significantly, although Oxford classicists have long been engaged in the decipherment of ancient written artefacts of different kinds—work to catalogue and publish the *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, housed in the Ashmolean (now Sackler) Library, has been continuous since the late 1890s, and the long tradition of epigraphic research within the faculty was enhanced from 1995 by the establishment of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, with the use of digitised imaging and other scientific methods to assist in reading these texts advancing dramatically since the 1990s—this has all taken place without noticeable interaction with similar initiatives in the analysis of the scrolls, despite some of the initiatives with digitising the scrolls in the 1990s having taken place in Oxford through Oxford University Press and the Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

This Oxford experience cannot be ascribed solely to indifference to the scrolls by biblical studies scholars and classicists who had plenty of other material to keep them occupied. It can be attributed in part to the emergence of Dead Sea scrolls study as a separate academic field. The explosion in research into the scrolls in the 1990s as more texts became available for study, and the emergence of an enlarged coterie of scholars who had written doctorates on the scrolls and interacted with each other in numerous international conferences and in the pages of newly-founded journals as well as more venerable periodicals, enabled study of the scrolls to become a specialist enterprise which could form the focus of a successful academic career for many scholars and not just, as in earlier years, the privileged few to whom the editing of a text had been entrusted.

The obvious positive result of this explosion has been a plethora of studies on individual scrolls and numerous insights into specific topics, but a less positive result has been the tendency for scholarship under such conditions to become self-referential, with analysis of scrolls texts in light of each other, much as New Testament scholars of earlier generations sought to explain difficult passages primarily by comparison with other New Testament texts. Scholarship on the scrolls can appear rebarbative for outsiders to the field. It does not help that references

to specific texts are either by number or by an ascribed name which may well be different in different studies and hard for non-specialists to identify: the extensive publication in DJD of detailed tables intended to clarify the different reference systems found in earlier scholarship exemplifies the problem which it seeks to cure.

Enabling the recondite evidence of the scrolls to take its rightful place in the study of ancient Judaism, the Hebrew Bible, and the wider ancient world, will not be easy, and it is clear that the main effort will need to come from scrolls specialists themselves. After more than seventy years of publishing and elucidating these varied texts, the next step is to explain to non-specialists how they relate to other evidence from the ancient world, and therefore why they matter. In order to achieve this scrolls specialists will need to be constantly aware that it is not intrinsically obvious that scrolls with multifarious contents found in a number of caves at some distance from each other are best read in light of each other rather than other ancient literature. The real value of the scrolls will only emerge when they have been fully integrated with other evidence from the ancient world in a genuinely interdisciplinary endeavour.

This is a challenge which the current generation of students in Oxford are taking up with enthusiasm. It will be very interesting to see where it leads. Only when scholars have made a real attempt to imagine what we would know about ancient Judaism if we had no medieval manuscript tradition and relied entirely, as we do for so many other religions in antiquity, on the evidence of ancient artefacts (among which the Dead Sea scrolls should take pride of place) will the real importance of the scrolls come to be fully appreciated.

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DEAD SEA SCROLLS SCHOLARSHIP IN OXFORD: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Abstract

This study has three sections. In the first, more extensive section, there is discussion of how Oxford scholars (especially G.R. Driver, C. Roth and C. Rabin) were involved in the initial debates about the date and significance of the Scrolls; they tried to provide them with a context on the basis of known parameters. In the second section, through description of the work of G. Vermes (and some of his students), Oxford is understood as playing a major part in providing a consensus view of the Scrolls, whilst being open to the significance of the new materials emerging in preliminary ways in the 1980s and then in floods in the 1990s. In the third section the contribution of contemporary Oxford scholars (especially M. Bockmuehl and H. Najman) is outlined in terms of its more nuanced attention to contextual issues. What is presented for the story of the Scrolls in Oxford could be described in similar terms for other institutions and so the history of research here is exemplary, even paradigmatic of what has taken place more generally.

Introduction

AT the 1997 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Francisco there was a celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the first Scrolls in 1947. Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera were invited to speak on Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship in Europe; for the United Kingdom they commented that two universities had played the most active roles in research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, namely Manchester and Oxford. (1)

(1) Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera, “Qumran Scholarship: A European Perspective,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty*, ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller, SBLEJL 15 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999), 129–41 (138–39).

This article takes a closer look at the history of Scrolls research in Oxford. (2)

I divide this study into three sections, though the material could be arranged in different ways. In the first, more extensive section, I notice how Oxford scholars were involved in the initial debates about the date and significance of the Scrolls as they tried to provide them with a context on the basis of known parameters. In the second I consider how, in the person of Geza Vermes, Oxford played a major part in providing a consensus view of the Scrolls, whilst being open to the significance of the new materials emerging in preliminary ways in the 1980s and then in floods in the 1990s. Lastly, I consider some few aspects of where the discussion is now as Oxford embarks on a new more nuanced period for the study of the Scrolls. In some ways what is present for the story of the Scrolls in Oxford could be described in similar terms for other institutions and so the history of research here is exemplary, even paradigmatic of what has taken place more generally.

Creative Contextualisation

The first period of engagement with the Scrolls at Oxford is to be linked with the interests of Godfrey R. Driver, Chaim Rabin and Cecil Roth. This period can be characterised, as for many such discoveries in many other places, by the way in which those three eminent scholars tried to set the newly emerging Scrolls within the context of what was already known about Judaism of the late Second Temple period and much later. Such is often the case, namely that existing paradigms are used, rather than challenged from the outset by the new evidence. While Eleazar Sukenik emerged as the first proponent of the Essene hypothesis, things were otherwise in Oxford, where it was considered that Sukenik's judgment had been too hasty.

Godfrey R. Driver (1892–1975) had had the very best context in which to form his outlook on the study of Hebrew and other matters. (3) He was born and brought up in Oxford where his father was Regius Professor of Hebrew. One of the earliest remarks on his extensive knowledge can be found in A. E. Cowley's "Translator's Preface" to the second English edition of *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*: "I have

(2) Some of this study is based on research undertaken for my essay "Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship in the United Kingdom," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant, STDJ 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 449–86.

(3) See the detailed biographical article by John A. Emerton, "Godfrey Rolles Driver 1892–1975," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 63 (1978): 345–62.

also to thank my young friend, Mr. Godfrey R. Driver, of Winchester College, for some welcome help in correcting proofs of the Hebrew index and the index of passages.” (4) Driver was then 17 years old. In an obituary tribute to him, Frederick F. Bruce wrote:

He was an outstanding scholar and teacher, and produced an impressive succession of learned works, but he came most prominently into the public eye first because of his outspoken views on the Dead Sea Scrolls and then as Joint Director of the New English Bible. As for the Scrolls, he thought that many of his colleagues rushed too quickly to inadequately supported conclusions, and was not afraid to espouse a minority opinion—or rather, two minority opinions, one after the other, for he was not the man to shrink from changing his mind in the light of fresh evidence. Indeed, his capacity for changing his mind made him the despair of editors, for he had the habit of rewriting his articles at proof stage (an expensive habit nowadays). (5)

The two minority opinions that Driver held were first that the Scrolls should probably be dated to the Tannaitic or Amoraic period, sometime between 200 and 500 CE and second that some of the Scrolls could indeed belong to the period before the fall of the Second Temple but were most likely to be the products of the Zealots. Although he wrote several letters to the London *Times* about the Scrolls in August and September 1949, his first more fulsome presentations were given as short articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* and in the revised form of his 1950 Friends of Dr Williams’s Library lecture published in 1951. (6) In the lecture he dismisses the dates ascribed to the jars and other items already associated with the Scrolls and instead pays particular attention to the impressed ruling in the Scrolls, thinking it indicative of a date in the post-Christian period, and comments for 1QIsa^a on the full orthography, which he deems post-Septuagintal, and the peculiar forms of pronominal suffixes for which he finds comparative material only from the time after Origen. It is likely that some of his early thinking concerning the dating of the Scrolls was influenced by the scepticism of Cambridge’s Jacob L. Teicher.

(4) Arthur E. Cowley, “Translator’s Preface,” in *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar as Edited and Enlarged by the Late E. Kautzsch. Second English Edition Revised in Accordance with the Twenty-Eighth German Edition (1909)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), iii.

(5) Frederick F. Bruce, “Godfrey Rolles Driver (1892–1975),” *The Witness* 105/1255 (1975): 266–67 (266).

(6) Godfrey R. Driver, *The Hebrew Scrolls from the Neighbourhood of Jericho and the Dead Sea*, Friends of Dr. Williams’s Library 4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1951).

In 1957 Driver had agreed to collaborate with Cecil Roth on his idea of a Zealot context for the Scrolls which he had found increasingly convincing. Roth completed his part of the work and could not wait for his partner's contribution, publishing his ideas in a small book in Hebrew and then in English. (7) Driver was then invited to give the 1958 Cadbury Lectures at the University of Birmingham and decided to use that opportunity to take up his initial collaboration with Cecil Roth that the Scrolls are best understood as the deposits made by Zealots, whom he identifies as Zadokites (the Sons of Zadok of the Scrolls), at the time of the Jewish Revolt; his revised lectures were eventually published in 1965. (8) Driver claimed that certain events described in the Scrolls could only satisfactorily be explained if juxtaposed with the descriptions of events in 66 CE by Josephus, especially circumstances involving Hezekiah son of Judah and his son Menahem. Menahem received most attention from Driver who on the basis of Josephus (*Jewish War* 2.433–440) described him as a messianic pretender who had been killed by Eleazar (who became Driver's Wicked Priest). Driver argued that the epithet "Rightful Teacher" was passed from one leading figure to another, probably on more than one occasion. Although some of the sectarian compositions were written in the period leading up to the Jewish Revolt, others, such as the Damascus Document belonged to a slightly later period.

It was G. R. Driver whom Gerald Lankester Harding, Director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities until 1956, contacted in 1953 asking for nominations to represent the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem to expand the team being set up to work on the fragments pouring into the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum. Since the Bedouin had discovered Cave 4 in the spring of 1952, the amount of material arriving at the Museum had become overwhelming. Driver had several students just completing or involved in doctoral work or other studies and he approached them in order. (9) The first to be asked was Preben H. C. Wernberg-Møller (1923–2016). He had been a star pupil at Copenhagen and had come to Oxford to work with Driver. His project had oriented around the lexicographical significance of the Rule of the Community and he had several short studies accepted by *Vetus*

(7) Cecil Roth, *Hrq' hhystrwy šl hmgylwt hgnwzwt* (Tel Aviv: Masada, 1957); *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958; New York, NY: Philosophical Library, 1959).

(8) Godfrey R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965).

(9) Many of the details of the interactions and correspondence are to be found in Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 208–21.

Testamentum. (10) His dissertation, on the Rule of the Community (Manual of Discipline) soon to be completed under Driver's supervision, was the first volume to be published in the new series from E. J. Brill of Leiden set up and edited by Johannes van der Ploeg of the University of Nijmegen. (11) Wernberg-Møller's monograph reads primarily as a series of lexical notes and it is easy to imagine how Driver had intended to capitalize on his work in the revision of his father's co-edited Dictionary. After Wernberg-Møller's initial acceptance on 6 August 1953, Driver seems to have convinced him to change his mind. Driver had been approached almost at the same time by H. H. Rowley of Manchester who was in search of Semitists. Driver considered Wernberg-Møller highly suitable and so Wernberg-Møller was offered the job in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Manchester. Driver did not want him to jeopardise the prospect of permanent employment; he was always concerned with the placement and promotion of his students. Wernberg-Møller started work in Manchester in 1954. At Manchester Wernberg-Møller proceeded to work on the Scrolls and published some notable articles on the Scrolls and other topics, including a contribution to the 1962 issue of the *Journal of Semitic Studies*, published as a Festschrift for Driver's 70th birthday. (12) He quite soon found himself a colleague of John Allegro. In 1968, when John Emerton, Driver's successor, moved from Oxford to become Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, Wernberg-Møller returned to Oxford as Reader in Semitic Philology, but his interests moved away from the Scrolls to the study of Ugaritic, though he never published much on that topic. I attended a guest lecture chaired by him at the Taylorian Institute in 1972 presented by John Trever.

At about the same time that he had recommended Wernberg-Møller, Driver had also suggested that Harding contact John M. Allegro (1923–1988). Although Allegro had started his doctorate in Manchester, having graduated with top grades there in both his BA and MA, after just

(10) Preben C. H. Wernberg-Møller, "Observations on the interchange of נ and ח in the Manual of Discipline," *VT* 3 (1953): 104–107; idem, "Notes on the Manual of Discipline (DSD) I 18, II 9, III 1–4, 9, VII 10–12, and XI 21–22," *VT* 3 (1953): 195–202; idem, "צדיק, צדיק and צדוק in the Zadokite Fragments (CDC), the Manual of Discipline (DSD) and the Habakkuk-Commentary (DSH)," *VT* 3 (1953): 310–15; idem, "A Note on זור 'to stink'," *VT* 4 (1954): 322–25.

(11) Preben C. H. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction*, STDJ 1 (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1957).

(12) Preben C. H. Wernberg-Møller, "Prolegomena to a Re-Examination of the Palestinian Targum Fragments of the Book of Genesis Published by P. Kahle, and their Relationship to the Peshitta," *JSS* 7 (1962): 253–66. The issue included articles by Arnold A. Anderson and John M. Allegro on the Scrolls.

a brief period he had moved to Oxford to work with Driver on Hebrew dialects. Amongst other things, Driver set him to work on constructing entries for the proposed revision of the famous *BDB* dictionary. Amongst the deposits in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester is a shoebox full of index cards in Allegro's neat handwriting with lexical information from the published Dead Sea Scrolls that might be incorporated into Driver's revised Dictionary. John Allegro was an enthusiast for many things and accepted the offer to go to Jerusalem with alacrity, applying for the adjustment of his doctoral study grant so that he could spend a year abroad. In October 1953 he arrived in Jerusalem and thus became the first British member of the international team in Jerusalem. Like Wernberg-Møller Allegro had been offered a job at Manchester, but because he was known to Rowley, Rowley endorsed his nomination for the Jerusalem team and deferred the position in Manchester for him until the start of the academic year in 1954. Thereafter, however, there was increasing tension between Allegro and his Manchester Head of Department as the former began to upstage the latter in several ways. Matters came to a head in early 1956 after a series of local radio programmes in which Allegro suggested that the Teacher's career and his followers foreshadowed Jesus and his disciples in significant ways. But that is Manchester's story, not Oxford's.

After John Allegro had accepted Driver's nomination, the next person to be approached, on 12 December 1953, to fill the second slot was John A. Emerton (1928–2015). Emerton had matriculated in 1947 as a member of Corpus Christi College; he had graduated with a prize-winning first class degree in Theology in 1950, was then admitted to Wycliffe Hall for ordination training, but continued his formal studies in Oriental Studies, graduating with a first class degree in 1952. For the year 1952–1953 he taught theology at the University of Birmingham and served his title as a curate at Birmingham Cathedral. When approached in 1953 Emerton, another Oxford scholar without a doctorate, had just been offered a position as lecturer in Hebrew and Aramaic at the University of Durham. After trying to think through how starting a new job, getting married, and taking time in Jerusalem could all be managed, he wrote to Harding offering him 5 months (the summer term 1954 and the summer vacation). However, Lankester Harding considered the time too short and turned down his offer. As with Wernberg-Møller, Driver seems to have concurred with Emerton's decision of prioritising his permanent position in Durham over the offer to work in Jerusalem for a year or more. In 1962 Emerton returned to Oxford as Driver's successor, but as Reader in Semitic Philology, not as Professor. Apart from using the available biblical Scrolls, especially for several short notes on passages

in Isaiah, he never wrote extensively on the Dead Sea Scrolls; (13) he did, however, contribute a short note in 1996 to the *Journal of Jewish Studies* Qumran Corner on 4Q393. (14)

A second British nomination was still needed. Driver proposed a young scholar of great promise who was only just starting to think about his graduate studies. John Strugnell (1930–2007) matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1948. He gained a top first in Literae Humaniores; he had then turned to Oriental Studies and was a student of both Driver and Chaim Rabin between 1952 and 1954. It was in the spring of 1954 that Driver encouraged him to fill the remaining place in the Jerusalem team, undertaking the work there as if registered for a doctorate in Oxford. Strugnell arrived in Jerusalem in July 1954 and became the youngest member of the international team but was soon able to hold his own alongside Józef T. Milik, “the fastest man with a fragment.” (15) Like Allegro and Emerton, Strugnell never completed a doctorate and soon drifted away from his ambition to be a Presbyterian minister. During his initial extensive period in Jerusalem, interrupted only by teaching for one year at Chicago’s Oriental Institute (1956–1957), he returned to Oxford to present a much-cited paper on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice at the 1959 meeting of the International Organisation for the Study of the Old Testament—G. R. Driver was the President of IOSOT from 1953 to 1959. (16) Although without a doctorate, from 1960 he was appointed to a position in Old Testament at Duke and then in 1966 in New Testament and Christian Origins at Harvard. In 1984, at the behest of Pierre Benoit, Strugnell became the third chief editor of the Dead Sea Scrolls, though the IAA took some time to ratify his appointment. Through the 1980s he and his colleagues were the objects of many comments about the slow progress of the publication, not least from the *Biblical Archaeology Review*. A significant moment in the whole encounter was organized by Oxford’s Geza Vermes in 1987 together with Fergus

(13) Forty-eight studies by Emerton are collected in Graham Davies and Robert Gordon (eds.), *Studies on the Language and Literature of the Bible: Selected Works of J. A. Emerton*, VTSup 165 (Leiden: Brill, 2015). There is only a single reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls in the volume: on p. 74 the vocabulary of 1QS 7:13 is discussed in his essay “The Root ‘ašah and Some Uses of ‘ešah and mo’ešah in Hebrew,” originally published in *Studies in Wisdom Literature*, ed. Wouter C. van Wyk, *Proceedings of Die Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika* 15/16 (1976): 13–26.

(14) John A. Emerton, “A Note on Two Words in 4Q393,” *JJS* 47 (1996): 348–51.

(15) A description applied to Milik as recorded in *Time* 69/15 (1957): 61.

(16) John Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrān: 4QSerek Širôt ‘Olat Haššabāt,” in *Congress Volume Oxford 1959*, VTSup 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 318–45.

Millar and Mark Geller. (17) Most of the international team as it was then constituted were invited to London to speak about their work at an international symposium (11–12 June 1987) and in a plenary session Strugnell and others were challenged to set out a timetable for the publication of the unpublished Cave 4 and Cave 11 manuscripts. To demonstrate the speed at which things could be done, the very next issue of the *Journal of Jewish Studies* carried some of the principal papers from the conference. (18) Despite having been the first chief editor to include Israeli scholars in the team, after an unfortunate newspaper interview Strugnell was removed from the chief editorship by the IAA and Emanuel Tov eventually took over, variously assisted by Émile Puech and Eugene Ulrich. Despite his ups and downs, Strugnell's own very significant contribution to the analysis of the Scrolls was recognised in two Festschriften as well as a memorial volume. (19)

Besides G. R. Driver and his students, there were two Jewish scholars at Oxford who wrote extensively on the Scrolls, both largely from a historical perspective. The first was Chaim Rabin (1915–1966). (20) Born in Giessen in Germany, he had come to England in 1934 after a year at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He studied and then taught at London's School of Oriental and African Studies, completing a doctorate on Early Arabic Dialects in 1939. In 1941 he moved to Oxford where he completed a second doctorate, this time on *The Development of the Syntax of Post-Biblical Hebrew*. In 1943 he was appointed as Oxford's Cowley Lecturer in Post-Biblical Hebrew. His first detailed

(17) Vermes had several times called the non-publication of Cave 4 and Cave 11 materials "the academic scandal par excellence of the twentieth century." Fergus Millar (1935–2019) was Vermes's close collaborator in Oxford for many years, especially on the revised Schürer, the completion of which was celebrated at the 1987 London conference.

(18) *JJS* 39/1 (1988): 1–79. The papers published were those by Geza Vermes, Emanuel Tov, Émile Puech, Carol Newsom, and Philip R. Davies. Other speakers at the symposium did not submit their work for one reason or another: Frank M. Cross, Eugene Ulrich, Elisha Qimron, Jonas Greenfield, Judith Sanderson and John Strugnell.

(19) Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins and Thomas H. Tobin (eds.), *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, Resources in Religion 5 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990); Hindy Najman (ed.), *Essays in Honour of John Strugnell*, *DSD* 13/1 (2006): 1–113; M. Sigrist and Kevin Stephens (eds.), *In Memoriam John Strugnell: Four Studies*, *Cahiers de la Revue Biblique* 84 (Pendé: Gabalda, 2015). The memorial volume contains papers from a symposium held in association with the burial of his ashes in the cemetery at the École Biblique.

(20) David Patterson, the founding first President of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and Rabin's successor as Cowley Lecturer, recalled in his obituary of Rabin how G. R. Driver had once said to him that he considered Chaim Rabin to be the cleverest man he had ever met.

engagement with the Scrolls was his 1954 edition of the Zadokite Documents (the Cairo Damascus Document) which was published in a second revised edition in 1958. Dedicated to the memory of Herbert H. Danby (1889–1953), a former Regius Professor of Hebrew “to whose encouragement this book owes its existence,” the book is a fresh collation of the Cairo texts A and B from photographs lent to him by Driver and other images. It is full of insight and stresses that the text is a mosaic of scriptural citations and allusions, rather than a piece of historiography. Rabin also argued for the continuity of the text with later rabbinic halakhah, with differences readily accounted for by the divergences amongst the Tannaim themselves; with that trend in his approach one can already discern his concern to identify the sectarian Scrolls with Pharisaism in some form.

In 1957 Rabin published a collection of lectures, originally given in Durham and in Manchester, and other items in a book entitled *Qumran Studies*. (21) The book was dedicated to G. R. Driver, but rather than leading in the direction that Driver had agreed to, Rabin challenged the emerging consensus of the Essene hypothesis by arguing, as mentioned above, for the association of the sectarian Scrolls with the Pharisees. For Rabin the Qumran community “continues the *haburah* of the first century BCE, an organisation within which people could trust each other in matters of tithing of produce, ritual purity of food, and other halakhic matters affecting everyday contact between individuals. The Qumran community—in this view—represents the old *haburah* more faithfully than does the ‘rabbinic’ community of the Tannaitic period, because the latter had made extensive concessions in halakhic matters in order to enable non-Pharisees to share in its life.” (22)

After he returned to Jerusalem in 1956 Rabin eventually became the chief editor of the Hebrew University Bible Project in place of Moshe Goshen-Gottstein. His early view on the significance of the Scrolls for the Hebrew Bible can be seen in his article “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of the O.T. Text,” (23) published in Oxford’s *Journal of Theological Studies*. With his wife he translated Yigael Yadin’s monograph on the War Scroll into English and with Yadin was also responsible for the oft-cited *Scripta Hierosolymitana* volume 4 on *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*; even in the 1954 first edition of his book on the Zadokite Documents he thanks “Major-General Y. Yadin for much help and kindness in connexion with my work.”

(21) Chaim Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); reprinted as a Schocken Paperback on Judaica (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1975).

(22) Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, viii.

(23) Chaim Rabin, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of the O.T. Text,” *JTS* 6 (1955): 174–82.

The other Oxford Jewish historian who wrote on the Dead Sea Scrolls was Cecil Roth (1899–1970). Roth had been a student at Merton College in the early 1920s. He returned to Oxford in 1939 as Reader in Post-Biblical Jewish Studies, a post he held until 1964. Upon retirement he moved to Israel and undertook the general editorship of the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. Roth's multiple publications cover many aspects of the history of Jews in Europe. His published work on the Scrolls was based on lectures he gave in Manchester and Strasbourg in February and March 1957. Originally intended as part of a joint project with Driver these lectures were presented in print in Hebrew in 1957 and in English in 1958 as *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls*; a second American edition was published in 1965 under a different title, but with some supplementary material reproduced from published articles. (24) Roth had come to believe that the sect, part of which resided at Qumran, was part of the wide-ranging Zealot movement. Roth stated at the outset of his book that "it must however be clearly realised that the thesis here presented does not depend on names but on the entire circumstances of the time. Whether Menahem ben Judah or his kinsman Eleazar ben Jair was the Teacher of Righteousness of the Qumran Sect is of slight significance. What is important is that the sect was identical with the Zealots whom they led and inspired, and that the Qumran literature throws new light on the history of the Jewish Revolution of 66 and the great struggle against Rome that ensued." (25) He interacted extensively with Driver in relation to this thesis and seems to have convinced him as early as 1958 when Driver gave the Cadbury Lectures at the University of Birmingham which were later published in an expanded form as *The Judaean Scrolls*.

One other aspect of the engagement of Oxford with the Scrolls in the 1950s deserves mention. How did the series of principal editions end up being published by the Clarendon Press? This was the responsibility of Gerald Lankester Harding. In November 1952, with identical invitations, Harding had approached the university presses of Cambridge, Manchester and Oxford. Oxford replied first with enthusiasm, Manchester requested more information, and Cambridge thought it unlikely that they could take on the responsibility because of other commitments. As a result the printing and publication of all forty volumes of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* is a significant Oxford contribution to the study of the Scrolls.

(24) Cecil Roth, *Hrq' hhystwry šl hmgylwt hgnwzwt* (Tel Aviv: Masada, 1957); *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958; New York, NY: Philosophical Library, 1959); *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Historical Approach* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1965).

(25) Cecil Roth, *The Historical background of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, viii.

Constant Consensus

The middle period of the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Oxford is associated especially with one figure, Professor Geza Vermes. By the time Vermes moved to Oxford in 1965 as Reader in Jewish Studies, in effect replacing Cecil Roth, he had already established his reputation through significant publications: his dissertation, his essays on haggadic development for which he coined the label Rewritten Bible, and more particularly the first edition of his Pelican translation of the Scrolls into English. (26) Vermes's life and scholarly endeavours are colourfully told in his autobiography, *Providential Accidents: An Autobiography*. (27) For his Oxford years, both in post (1965–1991) and in retirement (1991–2013), his reputation has rested on several inter-related matters.

To begin with his interest in early Jewish scriptural interpretation resulted in some summary studies which have stood the test of time as points of reference, even if matters might be expressed somewhat differently today. (28) Then, alongside the ever-growing editions of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* Vermes produced a standard introduction in part based on work completed for the revised Schürer. (29) It was this standard introduction which he was able to keep updated, rather than the revised Schürer, which in relation to the Scrolls relatively quickly fell into the shadows. Another line of study concerned the historical Jesus; this also produced a series of publications, most famously *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels*. (30) It has always intrigued me that there are hardly any references to the Scrolls in *Jesus the Jew*; there is only brief mention of the Genesis Apocryphon and of the Prayer

(26) Geza Vermes, *Les manuscrits du désert de Juda* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1953, 2nd ed., 1954); Eng. trans. *Discovery in the Judean Desert* (Tournai: Desclée Company, 1956); idem, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, StPB 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1961; 2nd ed., 1973); idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, Pelican A551 (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1962).

(27) Geza Vermes, *Providential Accidents: An Autobiography* (London: SCM, 1998).

(28) Geza Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting," *ALUOS* 6 (1969): 85–97; "Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Peter R. Ackroyd and Christopher F. Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 1.199–231; idem, "Interpretation, History of, at Qumran and in the Targums," *IDBSup* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976), 438–43; idem, "Biblical Exegesis at Qumran," *ErIs* 20 (1989): 184–91; idem, "Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature," *JSS* 34 (1989): 493–508.

(29) Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (London: Collins, 1977; 2nd ed. London: SCM Press, 1982; 3rd rev. ed., 1994); revised again as *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: SCM Press, 1999).

(30) Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (London: Collins, 1973; New York, NY: Macmillan, 1974; London: Fount Paperback, 1976; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981; London: SCM Press, 1983).

of Nabonidus, both in respect of providing some evidence for Jewish healing practices between the second century BCE and the practices of Honi the circle drawer of several centuries later. The relative silence on the Scrolls indicates how Vermes construed Jesus away from the elite priestly circles of Jerusalem and its environs. (31)

In 1965 Vermes was asked to join the team revising the work of Emil Schürer. Instigated by Harold H. Rowley and taken up by Matthew Black the ins and outs of bringing the three volumes, especially volume 1, to birth between 1973 and 1987 are portrayed in *Providential Accidents* as an object lesson to anybody who takes on such a large project of revision and supplementation. (32) Of note was the involvement of four junior scholars, Tessa Rajak on Josephus in Volume 1, Philip Alexander, who contributed to all three volumes, Robert Hayward on Sicarii and Zealots in Volume 2, but chiefly Martin Goodman who made the title page of Volume 3. The completion of the project was celebrated at the 1987 Symposium on the Scrolls organized at the Institute of Jewish Studies of University College London by Vermes, Fergus Millar and Mark Geller. (33)

Collaboration with Martin Goodman and Philip Alexander extended beyond the revised Schürer. (34) With Martin Goodman, Vermes co-edited a collection of parallel Greek or Latin and English texts of all the material in the classical authors that might relate to the Essenes. (35) This handy volume, an English equivalent to what had long been available in German, (36) might through its very existence enable the maintenance of the Essene hypothesis which Vermes championed. In fact, of note is a highly influential article by Martin Goodman in which he challenges the identification and brings the role of Jerusalem in the Scrolls to the fore. (37) With Philip Alexander came a comprehensive collaboration over “some four years” on the editions of the Cave 4

(31) The same reticence about the value of the Scrolls for understanding Jesus is found also in Geza Vermes, *The Gospel of Jesus the Jew*, Riddell Memorial Lectures 48 (Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1981).

(32) Vermes, *Providential Accidents*, 176–79.

(33) Geza Vermes, “Introductory Remarks,” *JSS* 39 (1988): 3.

(34) I am grateful to both Philip Alexander and Martin Goodman for sharing with me a draft of their memoir, “Geza Vermes: 22 June 1924–8 May 2013,” forthcoming in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*.

(35) Geza Vermes and Martin Goodman, *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources*, Oxford Centre Textbooks 1 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

(36) Alfred Adam, *Antike Berichte über die Essener*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 182 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1961; 2. neubearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage von Christoph Burchard, 1972).

(37) Martin D. Goodman, “A Note on the Qumran Sectarrians, the Essenes and Josephus,” *JJS* 46 (1996): 161–66; see also his essay “Constructing Ancient Judaism

manuscripts of the Rule of the Community. (38) Although Vermes delighted in pointing out that he had an editorial suggestion mentioned in the very first volume of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, (39) it was only in 1991 that he joined the official team of editors with responsibility for the Rule of Community manuscripts; (40) that responsibility was shared from late 1993 with Philip Alexander. They also subsequently collaborated on the edition of 4Q285. (41)

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly Vermes did not have many doctoral students who worked explicitly on the Scrolls. Only two of his students have proceeded to positions in which they have developed research careers in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, though several others have published on the Scrolls from time to time. At the University of Bristol until his retirement Jonathan Campbell continued Vermes's interest in scriptural exegesis through the publication of his doctoral thesis on the use of scripture in the Damascus Document and his later book on exegetical texts. (42) Copying his Doktorvater he also wrote his own popular introduction to the Scrolls which went into a second edition. (43) The second student Vermes had supervised jointly with John Ashton: Timothy Lim eventually published a revised form of his 1991 doctoral

from the Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 81–91.

(38) Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, DJD 26 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). In the volume's "Preface," dated December 1997, they write: "We were surprised when we began preparing this edition some four years ago that, even after half a century, so many of the basic problems of this most fundamental of the scrolls—linguistic, textual, literary, historical and theological—remained unsolved." George J. Brooke also contributed a section on a small fragment of 1QSB to DJD 26; the fragment had coincidentally been first published in an issue of the *Journal of Jewish Studies* compiled in honour of Geza Vermes: George J. Brooke and James M. Robinson, "A Further Fragment of 1QSB: The Schøyen Collection MS 1909," *JJS* 46 (1995): 120–133.

(39) Dominique Barthélemy, "28a. Règle de la Congrégation," in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 108–18; Vermes is acknowledged on p. 116.

(40) In a letter to *The Times* of 10 July 1991, Vermes reports: "Sir, The fact that I publicly criticized the intolerable delays in publishing the Dead Sea Scrolls, for which the previous three editors-in-chief were responsible, did not prevent the present regime from inviting me to take charge of the unpublished material relating to the Manual of Discipline, one of the most important sectarian documents."

(41) Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, "4QSefer ha-Milhama," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*, ed. Stephen J. Pfann et al., DJD 36 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 228–46.

(42) Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8*, 19–20, BZAW 228 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995); idem, *The Exegetical Texts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 4 (London: T&T Clark International, 2004).

(43) Jonathan G. Campbell, *Deciphering the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Fontana, 1996; 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

thesis in 1997. (44) In the meantime, he had worked as a postdoctoral fellow at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and with Philip Alexander had produced an electronic edition of the Scrolls, as far as was possible at the time. (45) That edition was based in part on the set of images of the Scrolls deposited at the Oxford Centre. There have been other Junior or Kennicott Fellows at the Oxford Centre who have had major interests in the Scrolls, such as George J. Brooke (1977–1978) and Daniel Falk (1995–1998). And Philip Alexander was also David Patterson's successor as President of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies for 1992–1995, on loan from the University of Manchester; it was while in Oxford that his collaboration with Vermes on editing the Rule of the Community manuscripts began.

Vermes put in the entry on him in *Who's Who* that one of his hobbies was correcting proofs. He certainly gave himself plenty of opportunity to engage in his hobby, working on the *Journal of Jewish Studies* for many years from 1971. Through the 1990s, as more texts were published in preliminary and principal editions for the first time, the Oxford Qumran Forum seminar, chaired or co-chaired by Vermes well into retirement, produced a string of short papers which Vermes published in that part of the *Journal of Jewish Studies* which he labelled the "Qumran Corner." (46) Here there were plenty of new things, though through the 1990s Vermes himself never found any need to change in any significant ways the parameters of the consensus view which he had promoted for more than forty years. (47)

Careful Collaborations

Even though Geza Vermes was active in continuing the study of the Scrolls in Oxford until his mid-eighties, often chairing the Oxford Centre's seminar where papers on the topic could be presented, there was a slight lull in the contribution of Oxford to the study of the Scrolls,

(44) Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

(45) Timothy H. Lim in consultation with Philip S. Alexander, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library*, Volume 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

(46) The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research held a Jubilee Conference in 1997 at Yarnton Manor on Biblical Interpretation. Chaired by George Brooke, papers were presented by Philip Alexander, Roger Beckwith, James Davila, Edward Herbert, and Timothy Lim.

(47) The consistency of his views is represented in two further collections of his essays: Geza Vermes, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies*, SJLA 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1975); idem, *Scrolls, Scriptures and Early Christianity*, LSTS 56 (London: T&T Clark International, 2005).

though Martin Goodman kept them alive as part of the interests and concerns of the seminar on Jewish History and Literature of the Graeco-Roman Period. Then two senior appointments in the middle of the 2010s have dramatically re-awakened interest in the Scrolls and related issues. It is worth saying a little about each of those senior appointments as part of the outlook for the study of the Scrolls and related literature in Oxford now and in the immediate future. (48)

First, Markus Bockmuehl, a member of the Faculty of Theology since 2007, was appointed Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, Oxford's senior New Testament position, in 2014. He has had wide-ranging interests in both the long view of traditions and the breadth of cultural contexts, whether in relation to features of Paul's writings and their subsequent reception, the place of Peter, the continuities of the Gospel traditions, or certain doctrines—most recently ideas about *creatio ex nihilo*. He has also published rigorous and innovative items on the Scrolls. (49) Occasionally scholars make contributions which are highly significant beyond their regular sphere of influence, as was the case with Martin Goodman's study of 1996 on the Essenes. Bockmuehl made such a contribution in his 2009 essay "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary." (50) Here was

(48) Mention should also be made of the presence in Oxford since 2015 of John Srenock as a post-doctoral research fellow in the Faculty of Oriental Studies. Though his current research is on the texts of the Psalms, especially Psalms 100–150, much of his earlier published work has had even more direct connections with the Scrolls: see, e.g., Robert D. Holmsted and John Srenock, "Writing a Descriptive Grammar of the Syntax and Semantics of the War Scroll (1QM): The Noun Phrase as Proof of Concept," in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Martin G. Abegg on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Kipp Davis, Kyung S. Baek, Peter W. Flint, and Dorothy Peters, STDJ 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 67–106; John Srenock, "Translation and Rewriting in the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Memory of Peter W. Flint*, ed. Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk, SBLEJL 47 (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2017), 453–82; idem, *Traductor Scriptor: The Old Greek Translation of Exodus 1–14 as Scribal Activity*, VTSup 174 (Leiden: Brill, 2017); idem, "Is Rewriting Translation? Chronicles and Jubilees in Light of Intralingual Translation," VT 68 (2018): 475–504; idem, "The Syntax of Cardinal Numerals in Judges, Amos, Esther and 1QM," JSS 63 (2018): 125–54.

(49) Markus Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS)," RevQ 18 (1998): 541–60; idem, "1QS: Salvation at Qumran," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism. Volume 1: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, WUNT 140 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 381–414; idem, "Grace, Works and Destiny: Salvation in Qumran's Community Rule (1QS/4QS)," in *This World and the World to Come: Soteriology in Early Judaism*, ed. Daniel Gurtner, LSTS 74 (London: T&T Clark International, 2011), 229–61.

(50) Markus Bockmuehl, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–29.

something very different from what Vermes might ever have proposed on the Qumran pesharim. The essay has stimulated several studies on the roots of the kinds of exegesis to be found in the pesharim, including a substantial dissertation by Pieter Barry Hartog. (51) Because of the range of his interests, Bockmuehl is distinctively placed to include the Scrolls within a revised frame of historical and cultural parameters, a revision which should enhance their contextual significance. The 2018 appointment at Oxford of Daniel Schumann to an ERC Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellowship in New Testament and Dead Sea Scrolls signals such a possibility; his project, mentored by Bockmuehl, is entitled “A New Methodology for Comparative Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Cognate Literature.” (52)

Second, in 2015 Hindy Najman took up her appointment as Oriel and Laing Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. Najman has had long-standing interests in Jewish texts of the Second Temple period, not least the Dead Sea Scrolls and the writings of Philo. The published version of her own doctoral dissertation has promoted the discussion of what she designates as “biblical-interpretive discourse tied to a founder;” it has also influenced the study of the functions of texts, the character of rewriting, the problems of naïve diachronicities and other matters in Second Temple times. (53) Many other publications have followed which have provided close readings of a wide range of texts including those among the Scrolls and in so doing asked methodological questions about how Jewish literature of the Second Temple period might best be read, especially in dialogue with the insights of other closely related disciplines, such as Classics and Ancient Philosophy. (54) Three years after her appointment at Oxford she oversaw the launch of the Centre for the Study of the Bible (in the Humanities), based at Oriel College. (55) The Centre aims at positioning the study of the Bible, especially the Hebrew

(51) Pieter B. Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema: A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, STDJ 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

(52) Schumann has worked particularly on early rabbinic literature, partly under the direction of Lutz Doering at the University of Munster: e.g., Daniel Schumann, *Rabbinische Texte, Erste Reihe: Die Tosefta. Band III: Seder Naschim Band III.2: Nedarim—Nezirut. Übersetzung und Erklärung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2014).

(53) Hindy Najman, *Secending Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

(54) See, e.g., Hindy Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*, JSJSup 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2010); idem, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

(55) For more information see the Centre’s website: oriel.ox.ac.uk/cbh. Part of the Centre’s agenda has been set out in Najman’s inaugural lecture at Oxford: Hindy Najman, “Ethical Reading: The Transformation of the Text and the Self,” *JTS* 68 (2017): 507–29.

Bible/Old Testament as part of the study of the Humanities, especially as there are synergies with Classics and Ancient History, Philosophy, and other areas. Such possibilities are enabled through shifting attention to the Hebrew Bible away from its modern theological uses towards greater appreciation of the processes of its production and transmission in the Second Temple period, not least as those are stimulated by reflecting on the significance of the Scrolls. The vitality of the Bible's textuality in that period as its constituent parts move from composition to authority to canon enables it to be set alongside other texts from antiquity which have also had enduring cultural significance. (56) From its inception until August 2020 the Centre was managed by Arjen Bakker who is developing a significant profile in Second Temple wisdom traditions broadly conceived. (57) Through the synergies that the Centre is promoting it is becoming a focus for an astute and careful positioning of the study of the Bible, especially the Hebrew Bible, a positioning stimulated in large measure by concern for the Dead Sea Scrolls.

These two senior scholars now in post in Oxford provide distinctive perspectives on the place of the Scrolls in the study of Judaism in antiquity. Each has had a highly qualified post-doctoral or junior scholar working with them, providing opportunities for collaborations which can advance the study of the Scrolls within broader fields of interest, but without compromising them. Oxford's scholars played a significant role in the first generation of studies, they presented and interacted with the consensus views in a second generation, and currently they offer a world-leading example of a collaborative future for the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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(56) "Vitality" is Najman's word; see Hindy Najman, "The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the 'Canon'," *JSJ* 43 (2012): 497–518.

(57) Arjen Bakker, "The God of Knowledge: Qumran Reflections on Divine Presence Based on 1 Sam 2:3," *RevQ* 26/103 (2014): 361–74; idem, "Sages and Saints: Continuous Study and Transformation in *Musar le-Mevin* and *Serekh ha-Yahad*," in *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Hindy Najman, Jean-Sébastien Rey and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *JSJSup* 174 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 106–18; idem, שבח המאורות בספר המשלים ומקבילותיו מקומראן "[*The Praise of the Luminaries in the Similitudes of Enoch and its Parallels in the Qumran Scrolls*]," *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* 13 (Jerusalem: Haifa University Press, Bialik Institute, Hebrew University, 2017): 171–84.

A FURTHER LOOK AT THE CAVE 1 HODAYOT SCROLL: THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE ⁽¹⁾

Summary

The DJD 40 edition of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll by Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller put forward an extensive material reconstruction of the scroll based on Stegemann's work from the 1960s onwards. Parts of this reconstruction were recently challenged by Angela Kim Harkins, who offered a second look on this Cave 1 Hodayot scroll. She suggests that cols. II-VIII were not materially part of this scroll and presents a scenario which explains why the scroll was separated into a bundle with a few sheets, and a bundle with other fragments. This article looks further at the evidence of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll that pertains to some of Harkins's analyses and proposals.

AT the occasion of looking back at seventy years of Dead Sea Scrolls, it is befitting to focus on one of those original septuagintarian scrolls, the Qumran Cave 1 Hodayot scroll. (2) For a full study we would have to go back seventy years, or one or two years more, to how the scroll was received in 1947 by Eleazar Sukenik, opened in

(1) The presentation of this paper at the Oxford postgraduate workshop on 21 June, 2019 included a discussion of the life and work of James and Helene Bieberkraut, which have been removed from this written version but may be extended to a separate paper. I thank Hindy Najman for inviting me to the Oxford meeting, Christine Leroy for asking me to address the issues discussed in this article, Michael Brooks Johnson for discussing the reconstruction of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll with me in Jerusalem, Miriam Lange for informing me on Sukenik's February 1949 lecture in Leuven and for sharing her work and the photograph SHR 3414 with me, and Esther Chazon, Judith Newman, Carol Newsom, Eileen Schuller, who all, at occasion, have prompted me to work on the Hodayot. The author is also a research associate of the University of Pretoria.

(2) Since the proof that 1Q35 is the remnant of another (unfinished?) copy of the Hodayot, scholars differentiate between 1QH^a (the large Cave 1 Hodayot scroll) and 1QH^b (1Q35). In this article I will simply refer to the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll or 1QH.

1948 by James Bieberkraut, and first photographed by Helene Bieberkraut. (3) In addition, we would want to look at the progressing scholarly interpretation of the scroll over the past seventy years, and try to reconstruct some of the history of the scroll even before it was acquired by Sukenik. And we might want to correlate differing approaches to the Hodayot scroll with broader developments of the past decades in scrolls research, or in philology at large. For example, the initial search for the author of the text, and an autobiographic reading of some of its hymns, has given way to questions about the function of the autobiographical “I,” or on how the scroll would have been read by a community. The form-critical approaches to the hymns of the third quarter of the twentieth century have not entirely been discontinued, but there too has been a shift from form to function.

However, the most incisive changes to the traditional study of the Hodayot scroll ensued from new evidence. First, the physical reconstruction of the Hodayot scroll by Hartmut Stegemann and Emile Puech, eventually published by Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, (4) made it possible for the first time to study the scroll as a whole, rather than as separate hymns or groups of hymns. Second, the publication of the Cave 4 Hodayot materials by Schuller (5) did not only enable the textual reconstruction of the last part of the scroll. It also attested to variant Hodayot collections, thus raising the question of the specific character of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll versus some of the Cave 4 ones. These two new sets of data enabled new and intertwined approaches to the Hodayot which correspond to broader developments in philology. The first is the increased attention for the material aspects of the textual artefact, as complementary to an exclusively textual study. The second, the turn towards the character or the aim of the collection—initially impossible, but now enabled by the new evidence—rather than the analysis of individual hymns. The third, a focus on individual versions of a text that has been transmitted in multiple versions.

But what is evidence? In the case of the physical and textual reconstruction of the Hodayot scroll by Stegemann and Puech, and further completed by Schuller, the new evidence consist of improved readings, joins between fragments, and approximations of the original location of fragments in the scroll by the most skilled and competent scholars of their generation. Some of their constructs, such as the physical joining

(3) Also often spelled as Helena.

(4) Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009). See there for references to earlier studies.

(5) Eileen Schuller, “Hodayot,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, ed. Esther Chazon et al., DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 69–254.

of fragments, have been accepted beyond doubt by their peers, and hence serve as ground data. Others, such as the placement of fragments in this or that column, without clear textual or material joins, should be seen as proposals by well-trained scholars, which, however, may need to be reassessed from time to time. Thus, we may build on the reconstruction published in the impressive 2009 edition of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll, with incorporation of the text of the other Hodayot manuscripts and assembling sixty years of scholarship. Nonetheless, this is the product of scholarship, and hence open to reassessment, or to new questions and approaches. In a recent article, Angela Kim Harkins has done exactly that. (6) Throughout her scholarship she has contributed to the study of the Hodayot with fresh approaches. One inspiring new idea is her proposal of a purposeful organization of the hymns in the 4Q428 collection of the Hodayot, moving “from places of punishment to paradise,” and culminating in the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn. (7) But the 4Q428 collection also calls into question the traditional literary grouping of the hymns of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll in two groups: the Teacher Hymns (TH) and the Community Hymns (CH). The reconstruction of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll has the Teacher Hymns sandwiched in between the Community Hymns. Harkins argues that these two groups of Community Hymns, one placed before, the other after the Teacher Hymns actually form two different groups which reflect two different communities. (8) While the second group (Community Hymns 2, hence CH2) would fit the world-view associated with the *yahad* texts, the first group (CH1) would reflect a different ideology. This observation invites one to reconsider the processes of collection and composition attested in the Hodayot manuscripts.

The discussion in this article has been prompted by Harkins’s most recent proposal which questions the material connection between the first group of Community Hymns (published as 1QH II-VIII) and the remainder of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll. She boldly depicts a scenario that severs the material relationship between 1QH II-VIII and accounts

(6) Angela Kim Harkins, “Another Look at the Cave 1 Hodayot: Was CH I Materially Part of the Scroll 1QHodayot^a?” *DSD* 25 (2018): 185–216.

(7) Harkins, *Reading with an “I” to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012). For a very brief summary of Hodayot scholarship and her own contribution see Harkins, “Hodayot (H),” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 314–17.

(8) Harkins, “The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 121–54. See also Harkins, “A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH^a Sixty Years after its Discovery,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited*, ed. Daniel K. Falk et al., *STDJ* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 101–34, though some of the proposals of the latter paper have been recalled by her 2018 article.

for the material state of the Hodayot at its abandonment. The scenario is built on various aspects of the Cave 1 Hodayot and merits a careful assessment. Some of the evidence is incomplete or ambiguous, so that we can at best talk about possibilities or probabilities, not about certainty. The present article will largely focus on the material evidence of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll and Harkins's recent scenario. (9) Harkins's literary arguments about earlier Hodayot collections, which are, in my opinion, ultimately not dependent on the material analysis of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll, will be discussed further in another context. Throughout the discussion I will start with the available evidence and its previous interpretation, and subsequently turn to Harkins's look at the Cave 1 Hodayot.

1. One Scroll, Two Bundles (and more ...?)

One generally refers to the seven scrolls from Cave 1, but from these seven only six were acquired in a rolled-up state. The exception is the Hodayot scroll, which was obtained in (at least) two different parts. Often quoted is Sukenik's description of how the Hodayot scroll was presented to him.

The part which was opened first contains three sheets, each one with four columns, or a total of twelve columns. The sheets were not found regularly rolled up into one another, as was the case with the *Sons of Light* scroll. Instead, two disconnected sheets were casually rolled together, and into the folds of this roll a third sheet had been forced ... The second part of the *Thanksgiving Scroll* was, by the time it reached our hands, a crumpled mass of about seventy detached fragments of leather of assorted sizes. (10)

This description is partially supported by a few photographs made by Helene Bieberkraut. The first part or bundle with the three sheets is

(9) My own analysis is based on texts and photographs in the editions of Eleazar Sukenik, *אוצר המגילות הגנוזות שבידי האוניברסיטה העברית* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik/The Hebrew University, 1954) and *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magness/The Hebrew University, 1955), and on the DJD 40 edition of Stegemann and Schuller (henceforth DJD 40). In addition, I have consulted the SHR photographs which are available in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, ed. Emanuel Tov and Stephen J. Pfann (Leiden: Brill, 1993). Miriam Lange shared me with her "Documenting the Photographic History of Fragment 12 (1QH^a): A Complementing Reference for Preservation Studies" (MA thesis, University of Hamburg, The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, 2019) and a high quality photograph of SHR 3414.

(10) Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 37, but the English description of the casually or loosely rolling of two sheets, into which the third had been forced, does not fully correspond to either Sukenik's earlier Hebrew description (p. 32) or the photographs.

photographed on SHR 3410 (= SHR 3419) together with the 1QM scroll, and the bundle with the fragments is on SHR 3411 (= SHR 3420) together with the 1Q8 scroll and separately on SHR 3412. Sukenik's edition shows no picture of the first bundle before it was opened, but two later images. The first (SHR 3413; Sukenik fig. H14/E16) (11) is the image of one sheet (IX-XII) during the process of being opened, with most of col. XII, and a few letters visible of col. X. The other image (SHR 3330; Sukenik fig. H15/E17) shows two more distorted sheets (with cols. XIII-XVI and cols. XVII-XX) partly on top of one another. Most of the visible text is that of cols. XV and XVI, but there is also some of XIII and XX. The location of col. XVI on top of col. XIII (at the bottom right of the image of col. XVI a small part of col. XIII) can be seen, indicates that this sheet has been rolled or folded with the writing on the outside, which might have caused the damage between cols. XIV and XV. Another photograph (SHR 3421/3422) (12) shows James Bieberkraut in process of disentangling these two sheets, while the sheet with cols. IX-XII is already lying flattened on the desk before him.

In Sukenik's edition, one image of the second bundle (SHR 3411/3420; Sukenik fig. H12/E14), the crumpled mass, before it was opened shows hardly any discernible writing which would facilitate identification, except for the bottom lines of frag. 8 (col. XXV). A second image, of the very first stage of opening (SHR 3414; not in Sukenik) shows several fragments, namely frag. 7 (bottom), the large fragment from the top of col. XXI, a small section of the top left fragment of col. XXIII, frag. 18, as well as some small pieces which I have not identified. A third image of this bundle (SHR 3231; Sukenik fig. H13/E15), in a further process of being opened, allows one to identify in the middle of the image frag. 3 (col. XXI), to its bottom left a small section of frag. 2 (col. XXIII), in the bottom right section two different sections of frag. 4 (col. XXII), as well as in the utmost bottom right a fragment with some traces which I could not identify.

Should we assume that except for the three sheets, all of the fragments from Sukenik's edition came from the second bundle? This is probably not the case, since frag. 43 clearly had broken away from the hole in col. XII, and frags. 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 54, and 60 can also be restored to these three sheets. Apparently, the fragments in Sukenik's edition either came from the second crumpled bundle or had broken off from the sheets in the first bundle during the process of opening the sheets.

(11) The first figure number refers to Sukenik's Hebrew edition, the second to the English one.

(12) For an online image of this photo, see <https://www.bitmuna.com/ביברקראוט/> (picture Biber_0074).

Harkins raises the question whether we can be sure that the materials from the first (cols. II-IV) and especially the second sheet (cols. V-VIII) came from the second bundle. (13) She comments that the height of the second bundle seems to not have been tall enough to accommodate some of the fragments of the second sheet “which stands nearly twice as tall in its fullest measure or approximately thirty lines tall,” (14) and observes that neither of the photos of the bundles in the process of being opened show any signs of the materials from cols. II-VIII. (15) But how tall was the second bundle? None of these early photographs by Helene Bieberkraut show the scale, (16) which means we must calculate the size indirectly. Perhaps the best indication is given by SHR 3411 where the Hodayot bundle of fragments and the 1Q8 scroll are virtually identical in height. The edition of the 1Q8 scroll gives the maximum height of that scroll in col. XXVI to be ca. 21.5 cm, (17) but at the top and bottom the edges have been flattened, so the scroll as depicted was slightly less tall. (Another way of calculating the height of the bundle is by measuring the part of frag. 8 that is visible on the unopened bundle and to compare it with a scaled photograph). A height of the bundle of 21 cm would be just enough to accommodate the fragments and sheets of cols. IV-VIII. In order to assess whether the fragments might have fit in the bundle, one should also take into account that the total height of thirty lines in sheet 2 (cols. V-VIII) is never covered by one single fragment. The tallest single fragment in this sheet ranges in col. V from lines 18 to 38. However, one can ask whether the right fragment of col. IV, ranging from lines 13 to 41 could have fit in the bundle. This fragment is in fact 22 cm long from top to bottom, but the bundle shows that many fragments were folded over, certainly at the top and possibly at the bottom. In fact, the fold or partial break at the top of this fragment may be due to the folding of the fragment at the end of the bundle. This would mean that the overall height of the bundle would correspond to the height of the large fragments of col. IV.

Harkins argued that none of the fragments from cols. II-VIII is recognizable on the photographs of the bundle. (18) Yet, on the basis of the photographs and the published material one can conclude that there is physical evidence that frag. 12, which has been placed in col. VIII

(13) Harkins, “Second Look,” 192.

(14) Harkins, “Second Look,” 192.

(15) Harkins, “Second Look,” 193.

(16) On the scaling of the photographs, see Lange, “Documenting the Photographic History,” and DJD 40, 28 n. 89. Note that in DJD 40 the images of plates I-XXV have been reduced to 90% of the size of the columns and fragments (cf. p. 10).

(17) Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2010), 199.

(18) Harkins, “Second Look,” 193.

(from CH1), has been pressed against the backside of frag. 7 (bottom part), which belongs to col. XXIV (from CH2). (19) An offprint of the text of frag. 12 is found on the verso of frag. 7. If this did not happen in the crumpled bundle, then when and where? More decisive evidence against Harkins's claim is found in an unpublished photograph, SHR 3414, mentioned above, which shows among other fragments, frag. 18 in the bundle of fragments. (20) Fragment 18 has convincingly been joined to other fragments and placed in col. VI. This photograph thus confirms Sukenik's report that the bundle contained fragments written by two different scribes.

One would have welcomed a fuller photographic record, to be placed along Sukenik's succinct report on the material as acquired and subsequently opened. As is well known, editors' descriptions of this process are never exhaustive, and words alone are less informative than the images. Quite frequently, later scholarship which raises questions which those editors did not anticipate, may find fault with incomplete, ambiguous, or sometimes even inconsistent descriptions. (21) If the cols. II-VIII fragments were not in the bundle, as by Harkins's scenario, then Sukenik would not merely have forgotten to report on some detail, but he would have neglected to mention the provenance of a substantial part of the scroll. This seems extremely unlikely for a seasoned archaeologist, and indeed SHR 3414 corroborates this part of Sukenik's description.

2. One Scroll, Two Stages of Damage

Sukenik only briefly commented that the condition of the material showed that the parts of the scroll had not been separated by the Bedouin, but in ancient times. (22) At least two scholars have proposed scenarios to explain why one part of the scroll with the three sheets was folded up, and the other part found as fragments in a crumpled mass. Israel Knohl fantasized that "one of the members of the sect had torn apart the sheets of the scroll, folded up three of these sheets, and torn up the others into a multitude of fragments and compressed them into a single mass." (23) The remnant of Knohl's book develops the thesis

(19) DJD 40, 110 n. 3.

(20) Neither Harkins, "Second Look," nor DJD 40 seem to be aware of this photograph.

(21) An example is the description of the opening of 11Q18 in J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Les manuscrits de la Grotte XI de Qumrân," *RevQ* 12/45 (1985): 13-14 which was of no help to the final editors of this manuscript.

(22) Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 22.

(23) Israel Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus: The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 13.

that this was due to the self-glorification hymn at the end of the scroll, which eventually was destroyed because of its heretic nature. However, Knohl disregards all other material evidence pertaining to the Hodayot, and, more in general, any evidence that would challenge the thesis of his book.

Harkins, on the other hand, offers a more elaborate proposal for understanding the two different bundles (which, as seen above, she suspects only contained 1QH IX to the end). She observes that the three sheets in the first bundle had the holes for stitching, but none of the stitching left, suggesting to her that the stitching had been carefully removed. (24) Since it would have been unlikely that the Bedouin did this, this would have rather happened in antiquity. She connects this with the fact that these same sheets have secondary scribal corrections of defective orthography. (25) Harkins proposes the scenario that the scroll was being prepared for copying—and possibly for rearrangement of the sequence of the hymns. A scribe systematized the inconsistent orthography, and the sheets were carefully separated to facilitate the copying process. However, apparently these plans were interrupted: while a scribe folded some of the sheets, someone tore the remainder into fragments and crumpled them, apparently to discard them. (26)

Neither Knohl's simple scenario, nor Harkins's more elaborate one, address the explanation of Stegemann that the scroll had suffered from two successive stages of damage. Knohl could have been ignorant of this interpretation, since it had not been published in detail when he proposed his scenario. (27) Harkins does not directly address Stegemann's two-stages hypothesis, but challenges his statement that the damage pattern of the holes in cols. V-VIII is related to that in cols. IX-XX, and questions his calculations by hypothesizing a "slightly flattened scroll with an irregular circumference." (28) Indeed, this would cast doubt on calculations based on the assumption of a tightly and regularly rolled scroll. (29) However, in my reading this hypothesis fails to explain other parts of the argument, such as the regular damage patterns of the

(24) Harkins, "Second Look," 201–3.

(25) Harkins, "Second Look," 213–14.

(26) Harkins, "Second Look," 213.

(27) Stegemann presented his reconstruction at the 1997 Jerusalem Congress, where Knohl also presented the paper which would result in his book.

(28) Harkins, "Second Look," 203–6, quotation at 205.

(29) Note that Harkins, "Second Look," 205 emphasizes "Sukenik states clearly that this stack of sheet was then *loosely* rolled and stored on the floor of the Cave." This seems to me an interpretive paraphrase rather than an accurate rendering of Sukenik. For example, Harkins's "then" reflects her narrative scenario, where Sukenik merely describes what he saw. In the Hebrew version, which most likely reflects Sukenik's own words, there is also no reference to "casually" or "loosely" rolling.

fragments retrieved from the crumpled bundle. One may even see corresponding damage patterns in the shape and position of the fragments from cols. XXI-XXVI in relation to the sheet ending with col. XX.

If one looks back to the inward of the scroll, the damage patterns are recurring at circa 11 cm in the sheet with cols. IX-XII, and slightly increasing in following sheets. A circumference of ca. 11 cm (diameter ca. 3.5 cm) would be extremely large for the most inner part of the scroll and would normally suggest that one or more sheets preceded these columns. For Stegemann, the sheet with cols. V-VIII with damage patterns recurring at a shorter distance, should therefore have been more towards the inward part of the scroll. I agree with Harkins, however, that comparison of the damage of cols. IV-VIII with that of cols. IX-XII is difficult because of the additional damage patterns in both sheets which do not match.

Given that Harkins questions, hypothetically, one or two elements of Stegemann's reconstruction, but offers no convincing alternative which addresses all the material features, the most plausible explanation remains that, at some stage of the deterioration of the scroll, someone had found the scroll, folded the three sheets which were still more or less intact (?) together, and lumped all the other separated fragments in a pile. While Stegemann argued for a regular damage pattern in the first stage, while the scroll was still unrolled, he assigns the irregular damages, such as, for example, at the left of col. XIV, to a second stage. In his original description of those two sets of damage at different periods in history, he declined from indicating when or why the deteriorating scroll was bundled into two several parts. (30) This was his 1960s opinion which has been quoted in the 2009 edition. However, in 2000 he suggested that some of the deterioration to the second bundle resulted from it having been "hidden for some time in some moist place, perhaps in the garden of Mr. Kando." (31) A moist environment would allow for a much more rapid transformation of a bundle of fragments into a single mass. The possibility of rapid deterioration of the scrolls materials when removed from the caves is reported in a range of reports, including the accounts, fictive or real, that Kando would have buried fragments or even the Temple Scroll in his garden or back yard. (32)

(30) DJD 40, 48-49.

(31) Hartmut Stegemann, "The Reconstruction of the Cave 1 Hodayot Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 272-84 at 278.

(32) See, e.g., John M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956), 19; Emanuel Tov, "The Publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *On Scrolls, Artefacts and Intellectual Property*, ed. Timothy H. Lim, Hector

At any rate, Sukenik's original claim that the parts of the scroll had not been separated by the Bedouin, but in ancient times, cannot be taken as firm data, and a scenario that the Bedouin had found the scroll in a cave, repackaged the best preserved sheets in one bundle, repackaged the remaining fragmented sheet (cols. V-VIII) and the other fragments in a second bundle seems the easiest explanation to account for the material situation.

Harkins's scenario offers an intriguing explanation for some features but ignores or overlooks other parts of the material evidence. She does, however, touch upon an issue not explicitly discussed by previous scholarship, namely the absence of the stitching. The stitching of some rolled-up scrolls has remained intact, and in the Cave 4 fragments one finds both remnants of thread in some fragments, and undamaged stitching holes without any thread in other fragments, which indicates that the threads sometimes had survived the millennia, and sometimes had disintegrated. I am not aware of any specific study on the stitching of the scrolls, but in this connection James Sanders's comments on the Cave 11 Psalms scroll are of interest. He relates that

Albina and I are the only humans in modern times who have seen the linen threads that linked the five sheets of skin. By the time I arrived each morning they had disintegrated into dust. The scroll had been rolled so tightly by its last reader that the threads were amazingly well preserved—until exposure. (33)

In another report, he added that the threads at the top, “which are visibly of coarser texture than the original and represent reparation sewing in antiquity” remained in place. (34) Less specific is John Trever about the Cave 1 Isaiah scroll. He describes that the linen thread used to bind the last two sheets together had disintegrated, (35) and the present photographs show that some sheets are still connected, but that the thread of other sheets has gone lost.

The Cave 1 Hodayot scroll had suffered significantly by the time the three sheets were folded together, and the easiest assumption is that the thread that had connected the sheets had already largely disintegrated.

L. MacQueen, and Calum M. Carmichael (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 199–213, at 201–2.

(33) James A. Sanders, “The Modern History of the Qumran Psalms Scroll and Its Relation to Canon Criticism,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 393–411, at 398–99.

(34) James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*, DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 3.

(35) Quoted in Ulrich and Flint, *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2*, 6.

Largely, because on the early photographs not all the threads had disintegrated. The photograph of the opening of the first bundle with cols. IX–XII (SHR 3413; Sukenik fig. H14/E16) does show at the top left of col. XII stitching in a piece of the seam which had been folded over. On the photograph this piece covers the final words of lines 11–12. One needs to look at it in detail, but we see the thread going through several holes, and extending for part of a centimeter. Unfortunately, this part of the margin with the stitching is not preserved any more on the subsequent Bieberkraut photographs. Apparently, it has broken off or has been cut off. It is not clear why here we still have thread and not elsewhere in this sheet (other stitching on the fragments is visible in SHR 3414). Perhaps as Sanders relates about 11Q5, and as one can see frequently in the large Cave 1 Isaiah Scroll, the connection of the sheets at the top had been strengthened by another sturdier thread. Harkins's scenario of someone carefully removing the threads from the seams in order to facilitate copying is imaginative but does not fit the evidence of the remaining thread. An explanation of disintegration of the thread at a much later stage, as in other scrolls, seems easier to me.

3. One Scroll, Three Scribes

Already Malachi Martin recognized the hand of three scribes in the scroll. (36) According to the numbering of the DJD edition, a first scribe (Scribe A) wrote the entire scroll up to col. XIX 25 **וְאִין מְכָאוֹב**, a second scribe (Scribe B) took over for four lines from col. XIX 25 **וְאִין נָנַע** up to 29 **וְאִין יִגוֹן**, while a third scribe (Scribe C) continued from there till the end of the scroll. Of interest are the corrections in the text. (37) Some are orthographic corrections (specifically **כִּי** to **כּוֹל**, **כִּי** to **כִּיָּא**, and **לֹא** to **לֹוָא**); some correct obvious mistakes such as omissions of words or letters (**רֶפֶשׁ** to **רֶשׁ**), and some may correct the scroll to the text of the *Vorlage* or that of another manuscript (such as X 6 **אִמַּת** to **צִדֵּק**). Martin attributed most of the corrections in the text of Scribe A to Scribe B, but some also to Scribe C (**צִדֵּק** in X 6; **בְּמִשּׁוֹר עֲמָדָה** in X 31; **עַל** in XI 30; **צַבְעִי** in XV 32; **הַפְּלָתָה** in XV 37). However, in the case of only one or a few letters, identification with a specific scribe is not always certain, and in many cases the DJD edition simply mentions Martin's identification.

(36) Malachi Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque de Muséon 44–45 (Louvain: Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1958), 1:60–63.

(37) These are already listed extensively in Martin, *Scribal Character*, 2:475ff, and discussed in the “Notes on Readings” in DJD 40.

The DJD edition, going back to Stegemann, interprets many such corrections, including the orthographic ones, as correcting the scroll towards the text of the *Vorlage*. (38) This would explain why the text was not systematically corrected according to a specific orthographical practice. Harkins, however, proposes that corrections to the orthography in cols. IX and following suggest that these sheets were being prepared for copying by the “third hand in 1QH, the ‘editor-scribe’,” who had “a desire to systematize and even out the varying orthography in the hodayot collection.” (39) It is not clear whether according to Harkins this “third hand” belonged to the “third scribe.” (40) The latter is unlikely, palaeographically. Rather, most small corrections, including the orthographic ones, were made by a hand similar to that of Scribe B, and these are only found up to col. XIX. Perhaps Harkins adopts a scenario in which Scribe B took over from Scribe A, wrote a few lines (XIX 25–29), then left the rest of the scroll (cols. XIX–XXVIII) to be written by Scribe C. Then, after Scribe C had finished, Scribe B corrected the text of Scribe A in cols. IX–XIX. It would be easier to assume that Scribe B corrected the text of Scribe A before, or perhaps after, copying XIX 25–29, but, of course, we cannot prove or disprove the chronological timeline of these corrections.

At any rate, Harkins’s explanation that the orthographic corrections reflect a desire towards systematization is somewhat problematic. Indeed, a few times כּל is corrected towards the preferential spelling כּוּל, but no less than ten times in cols. IX–XIX the plene spelling כּל just remains. The few changes of כּי to כּיָא do not explain why more than seventy times Scribe A’s כּי was not corrected. The same holds for לָא: I cannot think of any reason why a scribe would correct in XII 30–32 three cases of לָא into לוֹא, while ignoring seventy other cases, both before and after those corrections, where Scribe A also wrote לָא.

The fragments which Stegemann and Schuller published in the DJD edition as cols. II–VIII (CH1) clearly have been copied by the same Scribe A who penned col. IX up to XIX 25. Paleographically, the writing is identical or near identical, with a large range of small specific features which are characteristic. Scribe A wrote the noun אַל in the usual square letters, but three examples are preserved, spread over the two parts of cols. II–VIII and cols. IX–XIX where this noun is written in Palaeohebrew letters, by one and the same hand. With regard to scribal practice, Scribe A often aims at spacing out the writing to achieve a more or less similar length of the lines. Frequently the scribe

(38) DJD 40:17 n. 20.

(39) Harkins, “Second Look,” 213; cf. also 189 n. 8 and 193.

(40) Harkins, “Second Look,” 212 n. 78. Notwithstanding 189 n. 8 the nomenclature in this article is ambiguous.

therefore uses a larger space before the last word, and, as already noted by Martin, occasionally even changes the orthography for such “marginal fitting.” (41)

Few corrections have been preserved in cols. II-VIII. Remarkable are the three corrections of כִּי to כִּיָּא in col. VII (lines 20, 25, 35), but in the same section כִּי is more often left uncorrected (col. VII lines 26, 31, 34, 36, 39). In this case we have only *alefs* to go by, but the extremely elegant one in line 20 (with curve of the diagonal and a foot to the left leg) is unique in the Hodayot scroll, as is the idiosyncratic one in line 35, and it seems unlikely to me that both corrections are from the same hand. (42)

Of course, scribes regularly wrote more than one scroll, and cols. II-VIII and IX-XIX therefore might have belonged to two different scrolls. Yet, Sukenik worked with only three (or, if Harkins ם} hypothesis is right, four) different scrolls. He did not have, as the Cave 4 editorial team, to sort out hundreds of manuscripts by scribal hand. As Sukenik reports, and as we have seen above, these parts were already materially associated when they were acquired. The question is whether they also were originally materially associated.

4. Two Scribes, Three Orthographic Patterns

Generally speaking, the orthographical patterns of a manuscript or part of a manuscript may reflect the orthographic practices or preferences of the scribe, or that of the *Vorlage* which was copied by the scribe. (43) Since very few, if any, scribes are absolutely consistent in their spelling, one cannot draw firm conclusions from individual inconsistencies, but one may describe patterns of orthographic preferences. (44)

(41) Martin, *Scribal Character*, 1:288.

(42) In fact, the supralinear *alef* in VII 20 is exactly before a gap, and it is also possible that the *alef* is not an orthographic correction of כִּי, but the first letter of a supralinearly inserted word.

(43) Harkins, “Second Look,” 209 states “we do well to understand the orthography as a feature that goes back to the time of composition, prior to Scribe A’s copying. Here, we assume that the primary scribal task of copying a manuscript is one in which the goal is to reproduce what appears in the *Vorlage*.” This assumption is not substantiated by the many copies among the Dead Sea Scrolls of one and the same work which use different orthographic systems. As demonstrated and argued forcefully by Molly M. Zahn, “Beyond ‘Qumran Scribal Practice’: The Case of the Temple Scroll,” *RevQ* 29/110 (2017): 185–203, one should take account of the “individuality of each scribe and, indeed, of each act of copying” (201).

(44) For another presentation of the scribes’ orthography see very briefly Michael C. Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14” (PhD thesis Divinity School, University of Chicago, 1998), 240 and 404–11 (Appendix 4).

Scribe C displays a large consistency in the spelling of many words which are spelled less consistently by Scribe A. Thus, Scribe C always writes כול and לוא plene (disregarding uncertain reading of 19:29; in 24:12 לו corrected to לוא), the second masculine singular suffix as כה, the perfect second masculine singular affix with תה (e.g., חשבתה), and the feminine singular demonstrative pronoun as זאת. There are some cases where there is a high, but not absolute, degree of consistency. For example, Scribe C's preferred spelling is כיא, but there are a few cases of כי. Overall, the orthographic practices of Scribe C correspond rather closely to the construct which Emanuel Tov, infelicitously, referred to as the, or a, Qumran Scribal Practice. (45)

In the case of Scribe A, the orthographic patterns of cols. IX-XIX somewhat differ from those of cols. II-VIII, and occasionally vary per section. In cols. IX-XI כיא is the preferred spelling (fourteen times), even though we also find כי (six times). But then, from col. XII onwards, Scribe A consistently writes כי. The scribe-corrector apparently first tried to correct כי to כיא (col. XII 6, 9, probably also 8), but then gave up (in XII 23 possibly, and in XVII 34 certainly the *alef* is by a corrector). In cols. IX-XIX the scribe is largely consistent with regard to the writing of לא and not לוא (there is once ולוא, in IX 27; in combination with the preposition ב the author writes either בלא or בלוא; with the preposition ל always ללוא). The scribe strongly prefers כול, but occasionally writes כל. Very special, and already discussed at length by Martin, is the scribe's spelling of the suffix of the second masculine singular. The scribe prefers in cols. IX-XIX כה (used more than 250 times) above ך (according to the edition 18 times). Ten of these rare eighteen cases of ך are found at the end of a line, always where the scribe had reached or already had crossed the guideline for the left margin. Here the aesthetics of the left margin trumped the orthographical preference.

In most respects the orthography of Scribe A in cols. II-VIII is similar to, but more consistent than IX-XIX. The scribe consistently uses כול rather than כל, the defective לא rather than לוא (except for בלוא), and (as in vols. XII-XIX) כי rather than כיא (most or all occurrences of כיא are either corrections, or uncertain readings). The single most salient difference is that cols. II-VIII overwhelmingly use the second masculine singular suffix ך (used more than 130 times) above כה (according to the edition 18 times). Noteworthy is the exclusive use of the כה form in col. VII 11–21, specifically in the one section of cols. II-VIII that is

(45) On this Qumran Scribal Practice, see, e.g., Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Tov, "Scribal Practices and Approaches Revisited," *HeBAI* 3 (2014): 363–74.

found in a Cave 4 Hodayot manuscript (4Q427 8 i 6–12). Harkins plausibly refers to this particular hymn in 1QH col. VII and in 4Q427 8 i as a floating composition, (46) but without spelling out the possible implications for either the collection of 1QH or of 4Q427 (or of variant Hodayot manuscripts as such).

It is difficult to explain the variations in Scribe A's orthographic practice. Some inconsistencies, such as the contrasting preferences with regard to the spelling of the second masculine singular suffix, may indeed be related to the orthography of different *Vorlagen*, even on the level of individual hymns. But this may not explain why the scribe preferred כִּי only in cols. IX–XI. In fact, even though many of the spellings of Scribe A are also found with Scribe C, and in many other Qumran scrolls, the specific orthographic practice of Scribe A is unique among the Dead Sea Scrolls. No other scroll of the 250 largest scrolls from Qumran and elsewhere in the Judaean Desert displays this consistent preference for both defective לֹא and plene כֹּל, (47) and this preference must be regarded to be the scribe's personal orthographic choice.

Why pay so much attention to orthography? First, the orthographic corrections of the text copied by Scribe A, both in CH1 and in cols. IX–XIX, are occasional and clearly not systematic, and they therefore do not support the scenario that one wanted to copy the scroll but first had to harmonize the spelling. Second, and more importantly, given the different individual orthographic practices of Scribe A and Scribe C, it is questionable to base arguments on the orthography of literary units which were written by different scribes. The different orthography of the CH1 hymns in cols. II–VIII written by Scribe A and that of the CH2 hymns from the latter part of the scroll copied by Scribe C are largely due to their scribes' practices and should not be taken to reflect an original compositional orthography. Only in the case of the sections copied by Scribe A, the varying preferences for ך or כה might plausibly go back to different *Vorlagen*.

5. One Scroll, Different Collections

Harkins's differentiation between CH1, TH, and CH2 is based both on literary and thematic issues, but also supported by the evidence from other Hodayot manuscripts. (48) The manuscripts 4Q429, 4Q430,

(46) Harkins, "Second Look," 193.

(47) Based on a KU Leuven database that was exported, adapted, and enriched from Accordance by Johan de Joode.

(48) For this article it is immaterial whether 1QH XVII 38–XIX 5 is the conclusion to TH, or a transitional hymn. CH2 is taken to begin in XIX 6.

4Q431, and also 1Q35 (1QH^b) are too damaged to give much evidence about the collection of their original manuscripts. The 4Q427 manuscript attests to CH2 hymns, though in a partly different sequence, as well as a hymn corresponding to 1QH VII 12–20 (the floating fragment mentioned above) as well as a hymn not found in the preserved parts of 1QH. 4Q428 attests to a collection consisting of TH and CH2, while Schuller's edition tentatively connects two small fragments to CH1, an identification rejected by Harkins on literary grounds. 4Q432 only preserves hymns from the TH collection. It is precarious to draw conclusions on the basis of lack of evidence. Yet, one may at least conclude that none of the Cave 4 manuscripts unequivocally witnesses to the CH1 collection as it has been reconstructed for the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll, while they do attest to TH and CH2 collections that are similar or identical to that of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll.

Harkins's argument for a differentiation between the three collections, CH1, TH, and CH2—where TH and CH2 together form one collection, and CH1 another—should be assessed on various grounds. From the material aspect, such a bisection in the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll may be justified. Most importantly, as demonstrated in the DJD edition, it is quite certain that the hymn of col. IX (the “Creation Psalm”) begins at the top of col. IX. (49) Given that this “Creation Psalm” serves as an introduction of the TH section, and col. IX is the first column of a sheet, we can conclude that the literary collection of TH with its introductory creation hymn started exactly at the beginning of a sheet. This would strengthen Harkins's thesis that col. IX could have been the first column of a scroll which contained, like 4Q428, the TH-CH2 collection. Nonetheless, there are examples where scribes began new literary sections in a scroll on a new column or new sheet. Compare, for example, 1QS col. V (new column), 4Q256 col. IX (new sheet), and 4Q258 (beginning of the scroll), or 4Q216 cols. V and VII. (50) Second, according to the photographs, cols. IV–VIII have been ruled with a slightly smaller distance between the horizontal lines than in cols. IX with also the letters accordingly having being written slightly tinier. (51) On average, the difference would be about 10%. Here again, differences of ruling in scrolls are not uncommon, and this slight variation might—if not simply due to shrinkage—be related to a scribal differentiation between the two parts.

(49) DJD 40, 120.

(50) On the latter, see Eibert Tigchelaar, “The Qumran Jubilees Manuscripts as Evidence for the Literary Growth of the Work,” *RevQ* 26/104 (2014): 579–94, esp. 585 n. 30.

(51) But DJD 40, 29 n. 89, explains this as due to shrinking of the leather.

Stegemann famously referred to the scroll with 1QS, 1QSa, and 1QSB as a *Sammelhandschrift*, both textually and materially. (52) Scholars have disputed whether 1QSa had been actually physically stitched to 1QS, or rather rolled up together with 1QS. In either case, the 1QS-Sa-Sb collection manuscript demonstrates that different compositions were collected together, textually and physically. (53) In a different way, the Cave 1 War Scroll and the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll can also be considered to be collections of different materials. An analogy with the 1QS-Sa-Sb collection might allow for two different material units (one with CH1, the other with the remainder) having been brought together, either secondarily stitched together or rolled up together. Yet, the easiest explanation which seems to account for all material evidence is to regard the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll as a textually composite but materially unified artefact, written by three different scribes, deposited as a whole scroll, gradually disintegrating until the 1940s, discovered by Bedouin who bundled the disintegrating scroll into two separate bundles, which resulted in a new set of damages, and eventually acquired by Sukenik and opened by James Bieberkraut. Even after seventy years and more, many details remain uncertain, and some fragments may have been restored to the wrong place. But, most importantly, as many contemporary scholars are showing us, there are many new ways of reading the scroll.

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(52) Hartmut Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von 1QS III,13–IV,26," *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988): 95–131, esp. 96; Stegemann, "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSB and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 479–505, esp. 480–86.

(53) Stegemann, "Some Remarks," 482, arguing for an initial sewing together of three rule-books, and subsequently related to one another in their literary transmission.

“MIDRASH-PESHER”: A SHARED TECHNIQUE OF INTERPRETATION IN QUMRAN, PAUL, AND THE TANNAIM*

Abstract

This article points to a method of interpretation found only in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Paul’s letter to the Romans (Rom 10:6–8), and rabbinic texts. This rhetoric of scriptural interpretation, which this article refers to as midrash-pesher, splits a passage into building blocks and laces the interpretation through the citation. The lemmata and their interpretations are connected only by a pronoun. This technique has not been studied as a phenomenon that appears across these three corpora. What follows is intended to fill this lacuna, describe the midrash-pesher technique, and explain how it operates hermeneutically in its different contexts. Ultimately, this article problematizes and nuances the scholarly practice to label relevant interpretations from Qumran as well as Paul’s interpretation in Rom 10:6–8 as “midrash” or “midrash-like.” The Dead Sea Scrolls, Paul, and the Tannaim use the same interpretation method in different ways and for different ends.

1. Introduction

THE publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls has transformed the study of ancient Jewish interpretation of scripture. In the study of Tannaitic midrash, numerous comparative studies have contributed

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to our understanding of the *content*, whether similar or different, of exegetical traditions across rabbinic and Second-Temple literature. (1) Yet, the study of interpretive *tools* is often overlooked in such comparative contexts. (2) The present study is dedicated to a method of interpretation found only in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Paul's letter to the Romans, and in rabbinic texts. (3) I refer to this technique as *midrash-pesher* throughout this article. This technique has not been studied as a phenomenon that appears across these corpora, and in what follows, I intend to fill this lacuna.

The question of how this commonality came to be is too complex to discuss here, (4) nor can we answer it with any confidence. (5) Instead, I ask how these different sources use this form, with the contention that comparing the usage of the *midrash-pesher* technique will shed light on how it shifts across independent literary contexts.

The first contribution of this study is, therefore, to describe the *midrash-pesher* technique and explain how it operates in each of these corpora and how they separately relate to scripture, its syntax, and its meanings. As there has been no work done to analyze the Tannaitic

(1) For some central examples see: Menahem Kister, "A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and Its Implications," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 101–11; Aharon Shemesh, "Biblical Exegesis and Interpretations from Qumran to the Rabbis," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 467–89; Aharon Shemesh, "Scriptural Interpretations in the Damascus Document and Their Parallels in Rabbinic Midrash," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery*, ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon, and Avital Pinnick, STDJ 34 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 161–75; Aharon Shemesh, "Traces of Sectarian Halakhah in Tannaitic Literature," *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 91–104 [Hebrew]; Aharon Shemesh, "4Q271.3: A Key to Sectarian Matrimonial Law," *JJS* 49 (1998): 244–63; Steven D. Fraade, "Looking for Legal Midrash in Qumran," in *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages*, JSJSup 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 145–68; Vered Noam, "Divorce in Qumran in Light of Early Halakhah," *JJS* 56 (2005): 206–23.

(2) Some progress has been made in the study of ancient Jewish exegetical tools in a comparative Hellenistic context. See the work of Yakir Paz on Homeric Scholia and exegetical terminologies in Tannaitic midrash, as well as the work of Barry Hartog on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Homeric Scholia. Yakir Paz, "From Scribes to Scholars: Rabbinic Biblical Exegesis in Light of the Homeric Commentaries" (PhD Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2014); Pieter B. Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema: A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, STDJ 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

(3) The present study will focus exclusively on the cases from Tannaitic literature.

(4) I will explore this question in a forthcoming article dedicated to Paul's *midrash-pesher*.

(5) It may stem of a common scriptural background, such as Isa 9:13–14. See Kister, "A Common Heritage," 103–4.

usage of this rhetoric, I will discuss the Tannaitic evidence elaborately. This focus will allow me to problematize and complexify the scholarly practice to label certain interpretations from Qumran as well as Paul's interpretation in Rom 10:6–8 as "midrash" or "midrash-like."

2. Definition and nomenclature

The *midrash-pesher* technique presents an interpretation of a verse in the following way. It cites a scriptural passage (usually a single verse, but often two consecutive verses) but splits the passage into building blocks, or "pegs"; it interprets the pegs (more or less) in sequence, and laces the interpretation through the citation; it connects the lemmata and their interpretations with a pronoun (זה/זו/אלו/היא/הוא/הם/הן) used in a copulative function or demonstratively. The following homily from the Sifre Deuteronomy on Deut 33:2 provides an example:

כשנגלה הקב"ה ליתן תורה לישראל לא בלשון אחד נגלה אלא בארבע לשונות.
 "ויאמר יי מסיני בא" זה לשון עברי, "וזרח משעיר למו" זה לשון רומי, "הופיע
 מהר פארן" זה לשון ערבי, "ואתא מרבבות קודש" זה לשון ארמי.

When the Holy One Blessed be He appeared in order to give Israel the Torah, he did not appear in one language but in four languages: 'The Lord came from Sinai' *this is* Hebrew; 'and dawned from Seir upon us' *this is* Roman language; 'he shone forth from Mount Paran' *this is* Arabic language; 'With him were myriads of holy ones' *this is* Aramaic language. (6)

Several such individual pesher-like interpretations exist in Qumran texts, Shani Berrin calls them "pronominal pesharim," (7) and other scholars name them "pesher-like" or "midrash-like" interpretations. (8) Most of the scriptural interpretations within the Qumran Pesharim formally differ from the rhetoric described here: they usually do not use pronouns, but rather a more specific terminology such as פשרו על, nor will they typically break down the verses they interpret into smaller lemmata. Instead, most pesher-interpretation cite or refer to an entire

(6) Sifre Deut §343 (Finkelstein ed., 395). Rabbinic texts are cited according to the manuscripts chosen by the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Hebrew Language (available at maagarim: <http://hebrew-treasures.huji.ac.il>). Translations of rabbinic sources are my own. Scriptural and NT citations are cited from the NRSV and amended if needed.

(7) Shani L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study Of 4Q169*, STDJ 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 159, 295–6.

(8) See e.g., Bilhah Nitzan, "The Continuity of Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature," in *The Oxford Handbook of The Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 345–46.

verse, and then present its interpretation with the technical term פשרו על or one of its variants.

Despite its differences from the more common form of pesher interpretations, I opt for the name *midrash-pesher* for the exegetical rhetoric under discussion since, as the evidence currently stands, most *midrash-pesher* interpretations are Tannaitic. Thus, it seems ill-fitting to name this rhetoric by an exclusively Qumranic title (such as “pronominal pesharim”), thereby centralizing the pesher over against midrash. In contrast, the etic term *midrash-pesher* marks the prominence of this technique in both the Scrolls and in rabbinic literature.

Admittedly, the name *midrash-pesher* has some limitations. It is a recycled term, coined for different ends by William H. Brownlee, and justly rejected by scholars in the past. Brownlee has used the terminology within the limits of Qumran research and argued that in Qumran literature, three kinds of midrash exist: midrash halakhah, midrash aggadah, and midrash pesher. (9) Timothy Lim, conversely, has claimed that the very foundation of the term in the DSS, specifically in Pesher Habakkuk, is “dubious,” and he recommended that “this alleged hybrid genre should . . . be left out of a discussion of pesherite or Pauline exegeses.” (10) *Midrash-pesher*, as denoting a *genre*, is indeed a hybrid best excluded from scholarly discourse. Yet as Lim has himself pointed out, Paul’s rhetoric in Rom 10:6–8 resembles the form of pesher-like interpretations that use pronouns to present interpretations, and this is the form the present article traces. Furthermore, within the Scrolls, the type of interpretation I analyze here often appears not in Pesher compositions (as the name might be understood to imply), but rather in other Qumran texts, mainly the Damascus Document. (11) But the advantages of this naming seem to outweigh the disadvantages.

Midrash-pesher technique should not be confused with the more general presentation of interpretation with a *single* deictic identification

(9) William H. Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, SBLMS 24 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

(10) Timothy Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 139. See also Timothy H. Lim, “Midrash Pesher in the Pauline Letters,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, JSPSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 280–292; Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*, SNTSMS 74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 305 n. 42; Steven DiMattei, “Biblical Narratives,” in *As it is Written: Studying Paul’s Use of Scripture*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, SBLSymS 50 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 76 n. 49.

(11) As is well known, the Damascus Document uses both רשפ and שרד terminology.

(a singular "this is that"). (12) Specifically, some scholars have claimed that Rom 10:6–8 is an example of a single "this is that" interpretation, and trace it to both Semitic and Hellenistic usage. (13) But they are incorrect in describing the scriptural phenomenon in Paul, that conforms to the "pegging" technique I discuss here. Indeed, we should expect to find this sort of singular "this is" rhetoric used by *any* interpretative text. (14) But while they are on a continuum, *midrash-pesher* has several distinct characteristics but remains understudied. George Brooke has commented that:

Perhaps the most important items concerning interpretation in the Qumran literature, as elsewhere, are the third person pronouns which when used demonstratively permit the identification of one thing with another and produce a wonderful range of "this" is "that" possibilities, interpretative moves that are highly significant when the dominant exegetical strategy is the making contemporary of earlier traditions. A whole study could be devoted to demonstratives and the various ways they function in particular context in the Qumran literature. (15)

The present study progresses in the direction Brooke points to and will offer an analysis of the *midrash-pesher* form, a specific exegetical

(12) See for example, the homily in Mishnah Yoma 5:5: "'Then he shall go out to the altar that is before the Lord and make atonement on its behalf' (Leviticus 16:18), this is (הוא) the golden altar." Mishnah *Yoma* does *not* present a *midrash-pesher* as defined by this study. The homily in the Mishnah is structured as "this (quotation) is that (meaning)." Similar to examples found frequently in many types of literature. See e.g. the examples from the NT, Matt 27:46 (ἡλι ἡλι λεμα σαβαχθανι; τοῦτ' ἔστιν· θεέ μου θεέ μου, ἵνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες); Acts 1:19 (Ἀκελδαμάχ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν χωρίον αἵματος).

(13) Mark A. Seifrid, "Paul's Approach to the Old Testament in Rom 10:6–8," *TJ* 6 (1985): 3–37. Other scholars followed Seifrid's rejection of identifying Rom 10:6–8 as indicative of a *pesher-like* interpretation. See e.g., Filippo Belli, *Argumentation and Use of Scripture in Romans 9–11*, AnBib 183 (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2010), 245 n. 188; George Carraway, *Christ is God Over All: Romans 9:5 in the Context of Romans 9–11*, LNTS 489 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 146–47. See also Michael Wolter, *Der Brief an die Römer (Röm 9–16)*, Vol 2, EKK 6/2 (Göttingen: Patmos, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 119–20. Yet he too completely misses the mark when he says: "Bei diesem Ausdruck handelt es sich durchaus nicht um „eine exegetische Einführungsformel nach der pescher-Methode“, denn sie ist als erklärungsleitende Konjunktion in der hellenistischen Literatur im Sinne von „das heißt“ sehr zahlreich belegt, und zwar gerade auch zur Erläuterung von Zitaten wie in Röm 10,8." (see n. 19 there).

(14) For an attempt to describe the history and afterlife of the interpretative use of הוּא see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 455.

(15) George J. Brooke, "'Pesher' and 'Midrash' in Qumran Literature: Issues for Lexicography," *RdQ* 24 (2009): 80.

rhetoric that uses pronouns to present running interpretation, in Qumran literature, Paul and the Tannaitic corpus.

3. *Midrash-pesher* in Qumran

We find several cases of the *midrash-pesher* rhetorical form in writings from Qumran, and the following discusses examples from the Damascus Document (16) and Pesher Nahum. Like the pesher more generally, *midrash-pesher* presents scripture—and most centrally prophecy—as speaking of the life of the Qumran community. They engage in the interpretation of contemporary settings, construed as realizations of scriptural depictions. As such, both the pesher and the *midrash-pesher* in its Qumran usage, work in two directions simultaneously. They load scripture with contemporary meaning and interpret the present through scripture. (17) Furthermore, Steven Fraade described the pesher as a hermeneutic framework geared to translating “the enigmatic terms of the original narrative . . . into the manifest language of a new narrative.” (18) And indeed, the pesher unit, also in its pronominal form, is most often used for the transformation of a narrative.

A well-known example of the *midrash-pesher* is the interpretation of the Song of the Well in the Damascus Document:

ויקם מאהרן נבונים ומישראל	2
חכמים וישמיעם ויחפורו את הבאר באר חפרוה שרים כרוה	3
נדיבי העם במחוקק הבאר היא התורה וחופריה הם	4
שבי ישראל היוצאים מארץ יהודה ויגורו בארץ דמשק	5
אשר קרא אל את כולם שרים כי דרשוהו ולא הושבה	6
פארתם בפי אחד והמחוקק הוא דורש התורה אשר	7
אמר ישעיה מוציא כלי למעשיהו ונדיבי העם הם	8
הבאים לכרות את הבאר במחוקקות אשר חקק המחוקק	9
להתהלך במה בכל קץ הרשיע וזולתם לא ישיגו עד עמד	10
יורה הצדק באחרית הימים	11

- 2 He raised up from Aaron insightful men and from Israel
- 3 wise men and He taught them and they dug the well: ‘the well the princes dug, the nobility of the people
- 4 dug it with a rod’ (Num 21:18). The Well is the Law, and its ‘diggers’ are

(16) CD 6:2–11 will be discussed in detail. But compare also 3:20–4:4; 7:13–21; 8:9–13.

(17) Steven D. Fraade, *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash of Sifre to Deuteronomy* (New York: SUNY Press, 1991), 4–5; Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran*, 10.

(18) Fraade, *From Tradition to Commentary*, 4.

- 5 the captives of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and dwelt
in the land of Damascus;
- 6 because God had called them all princes, for they sought him and
- 7 their honour was not denied by a single mouth. *vac* And the 'rod' is
the interpreter of the Law of whom
- 8 Isaiah said, 'he brings out a tool for his work' (Isa 54:16). *vac* The
'nobility of the people' are
- 9 those who come to 'dig the well' by following rules that the Rod made
- 10 to live by during the whole era of wickedness, and without these rules
they shall obtain nothing until the appearance of
- 11 one who teaches righteousness in the last days. (19)

The Damascus Document interprets the Song of the Well (Num 21:18) to unfold the history of the sect and articulate its relationship to Torah. It does so by breaking down the verse and interpreting each building block in (almost perfect) sequence. The words **היא/היאה** and **הם/המה** function here as a copula between the verse fragment (lemma) and its meaning. Both the fragmentation of the verse and its interpretation in order are somewhat flexible. The lexeme may slightly change its form ("dug" **חפרוה** in the verse / "its diggers" **חופריה** in the pesher) to better serve the desired meaning and interpretative form. The word sequence is also changed slightly (though not at the beginning of the verse, and this will be a general rule): and so **"נדיבי העם"** ("the nobles") is interpreted after **"במחוקק"** ("Lawgiver"), though they appear within the line in reversed order.

(19) CD 6:2–11. For the sake of convenient reading, the source is cited from M. Abbege's translation of CD in Emanuel Tov, "CD", in: *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library Non-Biblical Texts*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2542-3525_dsselnbt_DSS_EL_NBT_CD. The relevant fragments from the scrolls confirm the use of pronouns as connecting the *lemmata* and their interpretation. Compare 4Q266 3 ii and 4Q267 2. For other discussions of this interpretation, Jonah Frankel, *Darkhe ha-aggadah veha-midrash* (Givatayim: Yad La-talmud, 1991), 478 ff [Hebrew]. Michael A. Fishbane, "The Well of Living Water: A Biblical Motif and Its Ancient Transformations," in *'Sha'arei Talmon': Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. Michael A. Fishbane, Emanuel Tov, and Weston W. Fields (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 3–16; Kister, "A Common Heritage," 109–10; Cana Werman, "Oral Torah vs. Written Torah(s): Competing Claims to Authority," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 7–9 January, 2003*, ed. Steven D. Fraade, Aharon Shemesh, and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 179; Aharon Shemesh, *Halakhah in the Making: The Development of Jewish Law from Qumran to the Rabbis*, The Taubman Lectures in Jewish Studies 6 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 43; Devorah Dimant, *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Collected Studies*, FAT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 313–14; Paul D. Mandel, *The Origins of Midrash: From Teaching to Text*, JSJSup 180 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 107–11; Liora Goldman, "The Admonitions in the Damascus Document as a Series of Thematic Pesharim," *DSD* 25 (2018): 385–411.

The rhetoric of this interpretation seems to hide as much as it is revealing. The use of the pronoun does not disclose any information about the interpretive procedure that led to the specific meaning but presents only a conversion of meaning, x (from the scriptures) is y . This is a persistent feature of the *midrash-pesher* rhetoric but is remarkable in the context of an interpretation that claims the divine provenance for certain exegetical tools (20) with which the diggers can dig the well of Torah. The *midrash-pesher* presents an interpretation without making the hermeneutical process explicit. The force of this rhetoric of interpretation lies then, not in its argumentation but its totality: it transports the verse in its entirety to a new context.

Another interesting example of the *midrash-pesher* form in Qumran texts is found in Pesher Nahum:

- | | |
|--|----|
| הנני אלי]כה | 8 |
| נא]ם יהוה צבאות והבערתי בעשן רובכ]ה וכפיריכה תאכל חרב והכר]ת | 9 |
| מארץ ט]רפה | |
| ולא י]שמע עוד קול מלאכיכה פש]רו רובכה הם גדודי חילו וכפיריו הם | 10 |
| גדוליו] | 11 |
| א]פירים ינתן ישראל [] | 12 |
- 8 ‘Behold I am against [you]
 9 it is the declar[ation of the Lord of Hosts. I will burn in smoke you]r [multitude,] and your young lions the sword will consume. I will cut [off p]rey, [from the land]’
 10 and no [longer will be heard the voice of your messengers]’ (2:14) *vac*] Its [interpre]tation: ‘your multitude’—they are the legions of his army [] and ‘his young lions’—they are
 11 his great ones[] and ‘his prey’—it is the weal]th which [the prie]sts of Jerusalem am[assed] that
 12 [th]ey will give it [] E]phraim. Israel will be given [] (21)

This pesher contemporizes Nahum 2:14. (22) Notably, this pesher consists of a hybrid form. It uses both the specific terminology פשרו (line 10) as well as a repetition of pronouns to present the interpretation. This example shows the strong formal kinship between *pesher* interpretations and the form I am retracing here. Not only do we find the

(20) Paul Mandel, against most other readers, does not understand “במחוקק” to speak of exegetical tools. See Mandel, *The Origins of Midrash*, 107–11.

(21) 4Q169 3–4 i 8–12. Translation by S. Berrin, from Emanuel Tov, “4Q169”, in: Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library Non-Biblical Texts, Emanuel Tov. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2542-3525_dsselnbt_DSS_EL_NBT_4Q169. Following quotes from the Nahum Pesher are also taken from this source.

(22) For an interpretation of this pesher see Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran*, 158–63.

midrash-pesher form within a continuous Pesher composition, but the rhetorical structures of the pesher and *midrash-pesher* are intertwined. A similar hybrid can be found in 4Q169 3–4 iii 8–10, on Nah 3:8. (23)

4. Paul's *midrash-pesher* in Rom 10:6–8

5 Moses writes concerning the righteousness that comes from the law, that "The person who does these things will live by them" [Lev 18:5] 6 But the righteousness by trust (24) says, "Do not say in your heart, [Deut 9:4] 'Who will ascend into heaven?'" that is (τοῦτ' ἔστιν), to bring Christ down 7 "or 'Who will descend into the abyss?'" that is (τοῦτ' ἔστιν), to bring Christ up from the dead. 8 But what does it say? "The word is near you, in your mouth and in your heart" [Deut 30:13–14] that is (τοῦτ' ἔστιν), the word of trust (ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως) that we proclaim.

Paul uses in this passage the classical trope of "speech in character," when he grants a speaking voice to the righteousness by trust. (25) It is nonetheless a unique—perhaps "Judaized"—version of this classical trope, in the sense that not only does Paul give righteousness by trust a voice, but he has it speaking scripture. While the words attributed to Moses are (more or less) a direct citation of Leviticus 18:5, (26)

(23) The pesher on Nahum 3:8 only includes two repetitions of "x is y", namely that 'Amon' is Manasseh and 'the rivers' are the nobles of Manasseh, and thus does not conform fully to my definition of the *midrash-pesher*. Yet it also involves a notable hybridity of the explicit *pesher* interpretation and a use of the pronominal form:

8 'Are you better than Am[on situated among] the rivers?' (Nah 3:8)

9 Its interpretation (פֶּשֶׁר): 'Amon' is Manasseh, and 'the rivers' are the nobles of Manasseh, the honoured ones of the []

10 'Which was surrounded by waters, whose rampart was the sea and whose walls were waters.' (3:8) *vac*

For an interpretation of this pesher see Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran*, 278–79.

(24) *Pistis* means 'trust,' 'steadfastness,' and/or 'confidence' and not 'faith' or 'belief,' the more common modern (and protestanized) translations, and is so translated in this study. In order to avoid confusion, I often leave the word untranslated completely. See on this Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 36; Teresa Morgan, *Roman Faith and Christian Faith: Pistis and Fides in the Early Roman Empire and Early Churches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). For a critique of Morgan's view and her rebuttal see a recent thematic issue of *New Testament Studies*: Francis Watson, "Roman Faith and Christian Faith," *NTS* 64 (2018): 243–47; Mark A. Seifrid, "Roman Faith and Christian Faith," *NTS* 64 (2018): 247–55; Teresa Morgan, "Roman Faith and Christian Faith," *NTS* 64 (2018): 255–61.

(25) See Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 309; Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 622.

(26) We cannot confidently know what the language of Lev 18:5 (LXX) was, but Paul's version in Romans steers very close to the Septuagint:

that coheres with its original context, (27) Paul manipulates Deut 30 into the speech of the righteousness by trust. (28) He does so by two main textual processes: [a] Intertextual fusion and replacement; (29) [b] Omissions: As Dietrich-Alex Koch succinctly put it: “Paul dissociates Deuteronomy from the theme of the Law.” (30) In Rom 10, Paul omits all references to the law and the commandments from Deut 30.

The omissions and intertexts serve Paul’s purposes and are intended to bring Deut 30 closer to his notion of righteousness by trust. (31) However, Paul reworks Deut 30 not only so that the verses mean what he needs them to say, but also so that they may be fully interpreted, using the *midrash-pesher* rhetoric, namely, interpret the verse word by word, fully and in sequence. This feature is not trivial. It is not Paul’s custom to introduce word for word or line by line interpretations. (32)

Rom: [Μωϋσῆς γὰρ γράφει τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ὅτι] ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ.

LXX: [καὶ φυλάξεσθε πάντα τὰ προστάγματα μου καὶ πάντα τὰ κρίματά μου καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτά] ὁ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

The changes stem from the omission of the beginning of the verse and its replacement by the Pauline terminology of “righteousness that is by the law,” intended to create grammatical continuity between Paul’s language, and that of the LXX. See Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 126–28.

(27) I have elaborated elsewhere on the pitting of the words of Moses against the words of the righteousness by trust. See Yael Fisch, “The Origins of Oral Torah: A New Pauline Perspective,” *JSJ* 51 (2020): 43–66.

(28) The differences between the cited verses in Rom 10:5–13 were explained in scholarship by arguing that Paul here does not cite scripture at all, but is merely paraphrasing it (see William Sanday and Arthur Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 5th ed., ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1905), 287; Richard N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 114; Edward E. Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2003, repr. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 123. Yet the work of Christopher Stanley shows that in Rom 10:6–8 Paul clearly reworks the language of scripture intentionally, and should therefore be understood as citing manipulated scripture. See Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 128–33.

(29) Paul fuses “do not say in your heart,” taken from Deut 9 with our verses from Deut 30. (Indeed, the “heart” is of importance in Deut 30, and is especially relevant to Paul’s reading in Rom 10). We find another intertextual replacement in Paul’s use of Deut 30. In order to “fit” the citation from Deut with his Christological theme, Paul substitutes Deuteronomy’s phrase “Nor is it beyond the sea” with wording similar to that of Psalms 106/7:26, and replaces the sea with the abyss.

(30) Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, BHT 69 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986), 131; Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 284.

(31) Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 130; Florian Wilk, “Schrift-bezüge im Werk des Paulus,” in *Paulus Handbuch*, ed. Friedrich W. Horn (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 483.

(32) Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 155.

Like in the Qumran examples discussed, Paul's rhetoric of *midrash-pesher* does not disclose his exegetical procedures. The force of the interpretation is in its totality and its account for the verses in their sequence. Rom 10:6–8 takes the *midrash-pesher* further: not only does the rhetoric work to authorize the interpretation but also to strengthen the interpreted text itself. While Paul creates the text spoken by the righteousness by trust by manipulation of Deut 30:12–4, he also uses the *midrash-pesher* to reinforce its coherence. The *midrash-pesher* masks that the words are a fragmented and intertextualized segment.

5. *Midrash-pesher* in Tannaitic Literature

I have collected circa 50 cases of the *midrash-pesher* form in Tannaitic literature. (33) Thirty-three of these are aggadic homilies (34) and twenty-two pertain to halakhah. (35) As one would expect of Tannaitic literature, the form most commonly interprets passages from the Pentateuch. (36) Still, we find several *derashot-pesher* on verses from the Prophets (37) and Writings as well. (38)

The Tannaim rarely use the *midrash-pesher* in service of an eschatology, (39) but often as a vehicle of contemporization. In other words, *midrash-pesher* bridges gaps between scripture and rabbinic conventions. (40) Tannaitic literature often does not use the *midrash-pesher* to interpret full verses. The vast majority of *derashot-pesher* in Tannaitic literature (forty-two) use the form is to interpret lists. In most of these cases (twenty-nine instances), the homilies interpret short lists presented

(33) A full list and analysis of these 50 cases will be published in a forthcoming article. I was looking for a repetitive use of the pronouns /"הוא"/"היא"/"אלו"/"הם"/"זו"/"זה" in homilies that fragmentize verses. Interpretations which present less than three repetitions of this form within a verse were not included. The homilies appear in the following collections: Sifre Deut [11 instances]; Mek. RI [11]; Sifra [9]; Tosefta [8]; Sifre Num. [6]; Seder Olam [4]; Mishnah [2]; Sifre Zuta Num. [2]; Mek. RI of Rabbi Shimon [2].

(34) Appearing in the following collections: Mek. RI [9]; Tosefta [7]; Sifre Deut. [6]; Seder Olam [4]; Sifra [3]; Sifre Num. [3]; Mek. RS [1].

(35) Appearing in the following collections: Sifra [6]; Sifre Deut. [5]; Sifre Num. [3]; Sifre Zuta Num. [2]; Mishnah [2]; Mekhilta [2]; Sifra [1]; Mek. RS [1]; Tosefta [1].

(36) Deut [17]; Lev [8]; Num [5]; Exod [4]; Gen [4].

(37) Isa [3]; Ezek [3].

(38) Song [4]; Dan [2]; Prov [2]; Chron [1].

(39) Mek. RS 19, 17 (Epstein-Melamed ed., 143); Sifra Behuqotai 2, 3 (Weiss ed., 111d); t. Ber. 1:11.

(40) Many of these homilies bridge, as would be expected, between scriptural and Tannaitic norms. Only in one case the *midrash-pesher* actualizes a verse (Dan 8:7) reading it as pertaining to Tannaitic figures. See t. Miqw 7:11.

in a biblical verse. The remainder of these *derashot-pesher* (thirteen examples) render “simple” verses into lists. Let us consider both of these variants.

a) *Midrash-pesher and the interpretation of scriptural lists in Tannaitic literature*

The *midrash-pesher* form is most commonly used to present an interpretation for each item within a scriptural list in order to justify (seeming) textual superfluities (41) or clarify ambiguities. Among the lists that the *midrash-pesher* form interprets are the list of obligations towards the Hebrew slave-wife in Exod 21:10 (“שָׂאֲרָה כְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְתָּהּ לֹא” | “he shall not diminish the food, clothing, or marital rights”); (42) the list of things Moses wished to see when he asked to cross over the Jordan according to Deut 3:25 (“אֶעְבְּרָה נָא וְאֶרְאֶה אֶת הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר” | “Let me go over and see the good land beyond the Jordan, that fine hill country and Lebanon”); the things that are atoned for by the priestly rite on Yom Kippur in Lev 16:33 (“וְכִפֵּר אֶת־מִקְדָּשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁ, וְאֶת־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְאֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ יִכָּפֵר; וְעַל הַכֹּהֲנִים” | “He shall make atonement for the sanctuary, and he shall make atonement for the tent of meeting and for the altar, and he shall make atonement for the priests and for all the people of the assembly”). In some cases, the very identification of a verse as a list is in and of itself a hermeneutical choice driven by a rabbinic rejection of the biblical use of synonyms or hyperbolic repetition. The rabbis often understand synonyms or hyperbolic repetitions within scripture to be redundant and seek to explain them away. (43) *Midrash-pesher* achieves this goal by granting each “item” a distinct meaning within the framework of a list: see for example Ezek 20:33 (“surely with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm and with anger poured out will I be king over you” | “חַי־אֲנִי . . . אִם־לֹא בְיָד חֲזָקָה וּבְזֹרֹעַ נְטוּיָה, וּבְחֶמָה שְׂפֹכָה--אֶמְלֹךְ” | “עַל־יְכֶם”) in which each item, best understood as hyperbolic metaphors, are interpreted as a list of *makkot*. (44) These superfluities and ambiguities are “solved” or interpreted in various ways. Some items may be

(41) See e.g. Mek. RI *Yitro* 2 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., 197); Mek. RI *Amalek* 1, (Horowitz-Rabin ed., 181); Mek. RS 12, 19 (Epstein-Melamed ed., 24); Sifre Zuta Num 28, 2 (Kahana ed., 322); Sifra *Aharei* 5, 3 (Weiss ed., 83b); Sifre Num §77 (Kahana ed., 182); Sifre Num §115 (Kahana ed., 328); Sifre Num §117 (Kahana ed., 345); Sifre Deut §8 (Finkelstein ed., 16).

(42) Mek RI *Neziqin* 3 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., 258).

(43) See similarly in James Kugel’s study of Midrash and the “forgetting” of parallelism. See James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 96–134.

(44) See the Passover *Haggadah*; Sifre Num. §115 (Kahana ed., 328–29).

read in a manner quite close to the contextual meaning of the item; others may be granted a sense quite far and foreign to the text.

In some cases, the *midrash-pesher* seeks to expand scriptural lists so that they may contain more items. (45) It may do so to justify superfluities within a passage, but it may also do so to make a list more comprehensive from a Tannaitic perspective. The *midrash-pesher* on the list of tithes appearing in the declaration in Deut 26:13 (46) is a good example. First, the midrash translates the different actions listed within the verse from Biblical Hebrew into the halakhic language of the Tannaim. And finally, the *midrash-pesher* breaks "I have removed the sacred portion from my house" into two so that it denotes two tithes: "I have removed the sacred portion" = second tithe and *netta revai*; "from the house" = dough offering. And so, the *midrash-pesher* in the Mishnah serves a twofold cause: it explains the biblical list through translation to Tannaitic terminology and adds to it two "missing" items. In other similar cases, a homily expands biblical lists by splitting phrases, (47) and other grammatical structures, (48) or by granting meaning to seemingly superfluous particles (ואת or וגם) thereby creating new entries. (49)

(45) Sifre Zuta Num 28, 2 (Kahana ed., 322); Sifra *Aharei* 5, 3 (Weiss ed., 83b); Sifra *Zabim* 4, 1 (Weiss ed., 78c); Sifra *Tzav* 11, 3 (Weiss ed., 40b); Sifra *Sheratzim* 1, 2 (Weiss ed., 47a); Sifre Num §117 (Kahana ed., 347); Sifre Deut §8 (Finkelstein ed., 16); Sifre Deut §63 (Finkelstein ed., 130).

(46) See m. Ma'as. Sheni 5:1; Sifre Deut §83 (Finkelstein ed., 321).

(47) See for example Sifre Zuta Num 28, 2 (Horowitz ed., 322), which interprets Num 28:2. After the preceding are interpreted, the *derashah* splits the phrase "רִיחַ" "a sweet savor" in two: "רִיחַ" זה השמן "ניחוח" - אלו הנסכים ("sweet"—is the oil; savor—are the drink offerings). Another example is Sifre Deut §63 (Finkelstein ed., 130), that interprets Deut 12:6. after the preceding items in the list are interpreted, the *derashah* splits "and the firstborn of your herds and flocks" into several different items in the list: firstborn = firstborn; herds and flocks = sin offerings and guilt offerings.

(48) See e.g. Sifra *Aharei* 5, 3 (Weiss ed., 83b) that interprets Lev 16:33: "He shall make atonement for the sanctuary, and he shall make atonement for the tent of meeting and for the altar, and he shall make atonement for the priests and for all the people of the assembly" The verse lists the things that the high priest atones for in his Day of Atonement ceremony. But the homily renders words which are not individual items in the list, as if they in fact were. The homily reads: 'He shall make atonement for the sanctuary'—This is the inner side; 'tent of meeting' this is the *hekhal*; 'the altar'—this is the altar; 'he will make atonement'—also for the courtyards; 'the priests'—these are the priests; 'all the people of the assembly'—these are Israel; 'he will atone'—also for the Levites". And so the two appearances of the verb יכפר | "he shall make atonement" are interpreted once as referring to the atoning of the courts and once to the atoning of the Levites. For another example see in the Sifre Num §117 (Kahana ed., 347), a midrashic expansion of the priestly gifts in Num 18:12.

(49) See e.g. the interpretation of Exod 17:13 ("And Joshua defeated Amalek and his people with the sword") as listing three parties defeated by Joshua, and not two in Mek. RI *Amalek* 1, (Horowitz-Rabin ed., 181): "'Amalek'—as it sounds [literally]; 'and'—these are his wife and his sons; 'his people'— there are soldiers that are with

Within the school of Rabbi Akiva, we find a specific variant of the *midrash-pesher* form that not only interprets the verse in the pesher order but interprets the letters ו"י and ב"י as independent lexemes in the list so as to expand it. (50)

The interpretation of lists is sometimes not motivated by a need for explanation or justification at all. Instead, the *midrash-pesher* transports lists to a different scriptural context. The Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael interprets a passage from Song 6:8–9 (“There are sixty queens and eighty concubines, and maidens without number. My dove, my perfect one, is but one”) as speaking of the Exodus and Moses:

“ששים המה מלכות ושמונים” וגו’. “ששים המה מלכות” אילו ששים ריבון, “ושמנים פלגשים” אילו מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה, “ועלמות אין מספר” אילו קטנים שאין להם מינין. אף-על-פיכן “אחת היא יונתי תמתי” שהיא שקולה כנגד הכל.

‘There are sixty queens’—These are the sixty ten-thousands; (51) ‘and eighty concubines’—these are those under twenty years old; ‘and maidens without number’—these are the minors who are numberless; nevertheless, ‘my perfect one is but one’—for she countervails all. (52)

The verse lists a plurality of women (“There are sixty queens, and eighty concubines and young women without number”), contrasting them with the singularity of the beloved (who “is but one”); the passage is interpreted as speaking of the plurality of the sons of Israel in the exodus census, against the singularity of Moses or the People as a whole. Another example is found in the Tosefta (t. Sotah 7:20–21) that introduces several interpretations to Prov 24:27 that lists actions entailed in building a home (prepare your work outside; prepare your fields; build your home). Most of the homilies in the Tosefta interpret the verse metaphorically, as speaking not of home building but *Talmud Torah*. (53)

him.” Or the interpretation of Exod 18, 18 (“You will surely wear yourself out, both you and these people with you. For the task is too heavy for you; you cannot do it alone.”) in Mek RI *Yitro* 2 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., 197) similarly treating the word *and* as an item on the list: “‘both you’—this is Moses; ‘and’—this is Aharon; ‘these people with you’—these are the seventy elders, the words. Of R. Yehoshua. R. Eleazar ha-Modai says: ‘you’—this is Moses; ‘and’—this is Aharon and Nadab and Abihu; ‘these people with you’—these are the seventy elders.”

(50) See Sifre Zuta Num 10, 10 (Horowitz ed., 296), in which not only each word within the list is interpreted, but some of the words that include added prefix (such as ו"י) are interpreted several times so as to denote several different meanings.

(51) Referring to Israelites who came from Egypt, see Exod 12:37.

(52) Mek RI *Shira* 9 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., 145).

(53) The first interpretation presented in [14] stands out as it does not transport the verse to another context, but rather changes its meaning (prepare your work = home; your field = field; your home = wife).

Thus, according to one interpretation, one must study Torah (prepare your work outside), study mishnah (your fields), and lastly, midrash (build your home). (54) According to another interpretation, the work is confined to the realm of Oral Torah, and so the building blocks are mishnah, midrash, and then halakhot respectively, and so forth. The last interpretation, brought in the name of R. Eliezer the son of R. Yossi Haglili, transports the verse to yet another context: "'prepare your work'—That is study (*talmud*); 'prepare your field'—This is doing good; 'build your home'—come, claim and collect your wages (in the world to come)." Both of these examples interpret verses outside of their contexts. Still, the interpretations do not seem to be exegetically motivated, as nothing about the lists in these verses is ambiguous or superfluous. The *midrash-pesher* structure is used here to transport scriptural lists into a different context, be it historical (Canticles—Exodus), normative (stages in building a house—the building blocks of the scholarly curriculum) or theological (stages in building a house—building a home in the world to come).

b) *Creating lists with midrash-pesher in Tannaitic literature*

In the texts discussed in the previous section, the Tannaitic *midrash-pesher* interprets scriptural lists. In thirteen particularly interesting cases, the *midrash-pesher* transforms simple verses into lists. (55) Scholars have recognized the importance of list-making in rabbinic culture, (56) but have pointed mainly to the creation of independent lists that serve as mnemonic tools (organizing different items in group) or as anthologies. The *midrash-pesher* form in Tannaitic midrash shows that list-making has a hermeneutical function. It is a way for the Tannaim to create new meaning by overthrowing the syntactical structure of the verse and replacing it with an alternative linguistic structure. The words are read as consecutive items in a list, thus allowing the rabbis to bridge gaps between their own cultural and ideological constructs and scripture.

(54) This is perhaps a pun on "בֵּית"—understood in the *derashah* as the house of study, rather than a house that one lives in.

(55) Mek RI *Pasha* 16 (Horowitz-Rabin ed., 60); m. Sotah 8:4; Seder Olam 5; Sifra *Sheratzim* 1, 1 (46, 4); Sifra *Sheratzim* 1, 3 (47, 2); Sifre Deut §264 (Finkelstein ed., 285); Sifre Deut §165 (Finkelstein ed., 286); Sifre Deut §171 (Finkelstein ed., 292); Sifre Deut §306 (Finkelstein ed., 340); Deut §343 (Finkelstein ed., 395); Deut §355 (Finkelstein ed., 419); t. *B. Qam.* 8:18; t. *Šeb.* 7:12.

(56) Shaye J.D. Cohen, *The Significance of Yavneh and Other Essays in Jewish Hellenism*, TSAJ 136 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 99 ff. Jacob Neusner, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 101; Ishay Rosen-Zvi, "The Body and the Temple: The List of Priestly Blemishes in the Mishnah and the Place of the Temple in the Tannaitic Study House," *Jewish Studies* 43 (2006): 49–87 [Hebrew].

In fact, in many such uses, the lists are not extracted from the verse at all. Instead, the *midrash-pesher* modifies a verse into a pre-existing Tannaitic list. The Tannaitic use of *midrash-pesher* to overthrow the syntactical structure of the verse and re-figuring it as a list has not been noticed. Let us consider several examples in more detail.

The Mekhilta asks about the scriptural origins of the halakhic obligation to give blessing on the food and subsequently points to the corresponding verse in Deut 8:10. It breaks down the verse and interprets its pegs as referring to the benedictions forming the Tannaitic *birkat hamazon* in the order of their appearance in liturgical practice: (57)

ומנין שמברכין על המזון? שנ' "ואכלת ושבעת" וגו' זו ברכה ראשונה. "על הארץ" זו ברכה שנייה. "טובה" זו ירושלים, שנ' "ההר הטוב הזה והלבנון". "אשר נתן לך" שגמלנו כל טוב.

Whence is the obligation to bless on the food? For it says "You shall eat your fill etc."—this is the first benediction; "for the (good) land" (58)—this is the second benediction; "good"—this is Jerusalem, (59) for it is written "this good mountain and the Lebanon"; "he has given you"—that he has granted us good. (60)

The question 'whence is the obligation to give grace on the food?' is answered by a *midrash-pesher* listing the four benedictions of *birkat hamazon* in their order of appearance. The midrash implicitly claims that we learn the obligation from the words of Deut 8:10, and their specific order of appearance gives insight to its comprehensive fulfillment. It achieves this interpretation by reading the verse simultaneously as a grammatical sentence that decrees giving blessing on the food, and as a list of consecutive items, each pointing to the passages of the Tannaitic liturgy.

A similar procedure is found in an aggadic midrash in Seder Olam Rabbah 5, seeking to show that the seven laws of Noah (61) were already

(57) See on this source Ishay Rosen-Zvi, "Responsive Blessings and the Development of the Tannaitic Liturgical System," *JSIJ* 7 (2008): 1–29 [Hebrew].

(58) The order of these words in the MT is reversed ("על הארץ הטובה"), and interpreted individually and in their order.

(59) Referring to the third benediction ("בונה ירושלים") that mentions the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

(60) Referring to the fourth and last benediction, which addresses God's benevolence.

(61) On the rabbinic and pre-rabbinic history of the Noahide laws, see Cana Werman, "The Attitude towards Gentiles in the Book of Jubilees and Qumran Literature Compared with Early Tannaitic Halakhah and Contemporary Pseudepigrapha" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University Jerusalem, 1996) [Hebrew]; Moshe Lavee, "The Noahide Laws: The Building Blocks of a Rabbinic Conceptual Framework in Qumran and the Book of Acts,"

given to Adam. The midrash breaks down Genesis 2:16 and interprets each of its fragments as pointing to one of the seven laws. However, Genesis 2:16 ("And the Lord God commanded the man, 'You are free to eat from any tree in the garden'") does not deliver a list at all, but only contains a single commandment presented as part of a narrative. The *midrash-pesher* is used to re-contextualize the verse and then break down its syntactical structure so that what was once a regular sentence—is now a list.

Mishnah Sotah 8:4 lists those that are to remain at home at the time of war: 1. One who built a new home and dedicated it; 2. One who planted a vineyard and has just begun to enjoy it; 3. One who has just married the woman he betrothed; 4. One who has taken in his dead brother's wife (יבמה). The Mishnah brings Deut 24:8 as proof-text and interprets it by the *midrash-pesher* form, so it may be read as expressing the Mishnaic list, even though the verse only states that if a man has recently married (i.e., no. 3, and perhaps 4, in our list), he may not be sent to war in his first year of marriage. The *derashah* changes the order of the words in the verse so that the verse agrees with the order of the list: "לביטו" is interpreted before "יהיה." It is then clear that the list is not gleaned off the verse but is read back into it. This is a *derashah* belonging to the school of R. Akiva, and different homily (albeit reaching a similar conclusion) from the school of R. Ishmael, is found in the Tosefta: (62)

אין לי אלא "בונה ביתו ולא חנכו", "נטע כרם ולא חללו", "ארש אשה ולא לקחה". מניין בנה בית וחנכו ולא שהה שנים-עשר חדש? נטע כרם וחללו ולא שהה שנים-עשר חדש? ארש אשה ולקחה ולא שהה שנים-עשר חדש? מניין שאין זוין ממקומן? תל"כ כי יקח איש אשה חדשה - דבר זה בכלל היה. ולמה יצא {ה} ? להקיש עליו. לומר לך: מה זה מיוחד שאירש אשה ולקחה ולא שהה שנים-עשר חדש שאין זוין ממקומן. >אף כולן כן<.

I have only "built a new house but not dedicated it"; "planted a vineyard but not yet enjoyed its fruit"; "become engaged to a woman but not yet married her." Whence [do we know that also he who] built a house and did not live in it for twelve months? Planted a vineyard and enjoyed it, but not for twelve months? Become pledged to a woman, married her, and did not live with her for twelve months? From where do we have that

Meghillot 10 (2013): 73–114; Christine Hayes, *What's Divine about Divine Law?: Early Perspectives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 354–69. On the possibility that this specific homily is of post-tannaitic provenance see recently David Sabato, "The Noahide Commandments in Tosefta Avodah Zarah," *JSIJ* 16 (2019): 18 n. 108 [Hebrew].

(62) Jacob Nahum Epstein, *Mavo Le-Nusah ha-Mishnah*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1948), 636 [Hebrew]; Saul Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-feshuta*, vol. 8 (Jerusalem: JTS Press, 1973), 691–92 [Hebrew].

they do not move from their place? From “if a man takes a new wife”—this was part of the general rule, and why does it stand outside (of it)? So we may infer from it. To tell you: in what way is it distinct that a man became pledged to a woman, married her, and did not live with her for twelve months? That they do not move from their place, <and so are all the others>. (63)

The *derashah* from the school of R. Ishmael locates the origin of our list is Deut 20:5–7. (64) According to the Ishmaelian homily, Deut 24:8 does not contradict 20:5–6, but rather “stands outside [of the general rule in Deut 20] so we may infer from it.” And thus, the midrash deduces that in all of these cases, the exemption from war is extended to a whole year after consecration.

The *midrash-pesher* in our Mishnah takes a different hermeneutical route. The Mishnah does not recognize a contradiction between the verses, because it finds that the list which appears explicitly in Deut 20:5–6 is implied in the words of Deut 24:8. And so the Akkivian *midrash-pesher* solves two problems by a single solution: it gives precedence to the Mishnaic halakhah as well as addresses a scriptural discrepancy. Perhaps one could say that the contradiction between verses exists only on a syntactic level, but if the words are taken as items in a (given) list, then the contradiction disappears.

6. Conclusions

The rhetorical force of the *midrash-pesher* form lies in its comprehensiveness. The form points to the inner structure of the scriptural verse and, through the unfolding of the interpretation together with its linguistic building blocks, the new interpretation—far-reaching as it may be—is presented as (nothing but) an explication of scriptural meaning. The form suggests a sympathetic and harmonious relationship between the text and its newly-granted meaning, and the power of the new interpretation stems from this sympathy. Indeed, *midrash-pesher* does not say *how* it interprets. In the context of Qumran interpretations, this is not surprising, since scriptural interpretations in Qumran are often implicit,

(63) T. Sot. 7:20 (ed. Lieberman, 198–199).

(64) “Then the officials shall address the troops, saying, Has anyone built a new house but not dedicated it? He should go back to his house, or he might die in the battle and another dedicate it. 6 Has anyone planted a vineyard but not yet enjoyed its fruit? He should go back to his house, or he might die in the battle and another be first to enjoy its fruit. 7 Has anyone become engaged to a woman but not yet married her? He should go back to his house, or he might die in the battle and another marry her.” (Deut 20:5–7).

or presented as revealed knowledge. (65) Yet it is notable the Damascus Document narrates the divine origins of the sect's interpretative tools, using a rhetoric that does not disclose these tools. Paul utilizes the *midrash-pesher* technique to interpret a highly reworked scriptural passage. And so, through its totality and ordering, the *midrash-pesher* in Rom 10:6–8 authorizes not only Paul's interpretation but also the base-text he interprets. In the context of tannaitic midrash, the *midrash-pesher* rhetoric is outstanding. Tannaitic homilies usually argue their interpretations with explicit technical terminology. But the *midrash-pesher* technique uses just a pronoun to presents the *lemmata* and their correlate meanings.

It has often been noted that *pesher* exegesis is used in the Dead Sea Scrolls to present a contemporization and actualization of scriptural texts, mainly, though not exclusively, of prophecy. If we take "contemporization" as a broad category, not limited to eschatology or apocalyptic, it captures the hermeneutic of the *midrash-pesher* across its different uses discussed here, even in the Tannaitic context. The Tannaitic *midrash-pesher* does not usually address eschatological themes, but it does bridge gaps between scripture and Tannaitic norms and figures. We may describe this bridging as a process of a contemporization of scripture that overcomes the distance between scriptural texts of the past and the Tannaitic constructs of the present.

Both the totality of reading and the process of contemporization I have described above work to render scripture, in whatever shape and form, as central to the life of a given community. This is true of all three literary contexts discussed here. Specifically, in the case of Paul's writing, the *midrash-pesher* rhetoric is part of his consistent commitment to speak to his gentile audience with and through verses and present scripture as speaking directly to them and their condition. (66) *Midrash-pesher* transforms scripture so that it speaks directly to contemporary circumstances, and at the same time, draws the learners' attention to the particularities of the verse, its word choices, and its construction. In Tannaitic literature, this feature is amplified. Tannaitic *midrash-pesher* is often used to justify the specific wording of a verse, that may seem redundant from a Tannaitic perspective (the rabbinic "צריכותא"). Tannaitic *midrash-pesher* performs—or better yet, creates—scripture as comprehensive (nothing is lacking from scripture), relevant (scripture represents

(65) Scholars noted the implicit nature of legal interpretations in Qumran, see Kister, "A Common Heritage"; Shemesh, "Biblical Exegesis and Interpretations from Qumran to the Rabbis"; Fraade, "Looking for Legal Midrash in Qumran." While the interpretations I have dealt with here are clearly more explicit, I have argued that they too do not disclose much about the interpretative process.

(66) See more in Fisch, "The Origins of Oral Torah."

Tannaitic halakhah), and consistent. Furthermore, the cases in which the Tannaim use *midrash-pesher* to read words not only in their syntactical context but also as items on a list, they broaden their possibilities to show scripture as speaking to their own, clearly post-scriptural, norms.

The rhetoric of the *midrash-pesher* implies monosemy. This is apparent both in the examples from the Dead Sea Scrolls, and from Paul, all of which present a single interpretation to the passages they interpret. The Qumranic and Pauline *midrash-pesher* is consistent with the broader hermeneutical stances these texts assume. Scholars have correctly argued both these corpora view scripture “as an enigma to be solved and decoded,” the power and authority of which “depends directly on the absoluteness of its claim that each and every interpretation is true.” (67) In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the univocity of scriptural meaning is tied to a view of interpretation as solution. Tannaitic midrash adopts the rhetoric of the *midrash-pesher* with its monosemic features (“*x is y*”), but recasts it in a polysemic context, thereby stripping *midrash-pesher* from its univocity. Tannaitic collections may present a series of different *derashot-pesher* on the same verse one after the other (like in the case of *t. Sotah* 7:20–21 discussed in detail above) and often present a *midrash-pesher* among other homilies on the same verse. One is left with the impression that the hermeneutical function of the identification “is” in the Tannaitic *midrash-pesher* is transformed.

Lastly, since the rhetoric I trace here often does not use the specific terminology of פשר על, scholars have sometimes labeled these of the Dead Sea Scrolls interpretations discussed here as “midrash.” Rom 10:6–8 has sometimes been similarly labeled. The present article problematizes this identification. While Paul and the Tannaim share an exegetical tool, they differ in the ways they use it. The characterizing features of the tannaitic *midrash-pesher* is the interpretation and construction of scriptural lists and their use in a context that may present multiple interpretations to a single verse. These hermeneutical features

(67) David Stern, *Midrash and Theory: Ancient Jewish Exegesis and Contemporary Literary Studies* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1996), 23. See also Steven D. Fraade, “Rabbinic Polysemy and Pluralism Revisited: Between Praxis and Thematization,” *AJS Review* 31 (2007): 1–40. Scholars have pointed out some cases of polysemic interpretation in Qumran, see Markus Bockmuehl, ‘The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary,’ in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January, 2004*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 19. Bockmuehl follows Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 32–33. Yet, these are singular exceptions to the rule.

are not demonstrated in earlier sources that use the *midrash-pesher*. The Qumran interpretations discussed here are not midrashim, nor is Paul performing midrash. Rather, the same exegetical tool is used across these corpora in different ways and for diverse ends.

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THE ESCHATOLOGIZATION OF THE EXODUS NARRATIVE IN 1 ENOCH 1–5*

Summary

The paper examines how 1 Enoch 1–5 combines the Isaianic notion of an exodus into the wilderness with the narrative of the Exodus from the book of Deuteronomy more closely by identifying the various Deuteronomic and prophetic pretexts and by shedding light on the author's strategy behind the eschatologization of the Deuteronomic account of the covenant at Sinai. Furthermore, the paper explores the question to what extent the eschatologization of Pentateuchal and prophetic Exodus traditions had an impact on the self-understanding of the earliest recipients of Enochic literature, namely the Yahad that understood itself as a new Exodus generation experiencing a life in the wilderness of the land of Israel.

Introduction

The eschatologization of God's former acts of salvation from the pentateuchal narrative texts is a special feature of prophets like Hosea, Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. This becomes particularly clear in the announcement of a new Exodus in Isa 43:16–44:8 but also in Hos 11:8–11 and Ezek 20:32–38. With allusions to the making of a way through sea and wilderness, (1) to the destruction of the Egyptian

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(1) Cf. Ex 13:18; 14:15–23; Num 9:17. For a very informing presentation of the history of research on the way-passages in Isa 40–55 see Lund Øystein, *Way Metaphors and Way Topics in Isaiah 40–55*, FAT II 28 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 3–21.

army in the floods of the Red Sea, (2) and to the provision of his people in the wilderness (3) Deutero-Isaiah draws on central motifs of the pentateuchal Exodus account. The place of salvation is now the wilderness itself—transformed by God, who causes rivers to spring up in it. The goal of this new Exodus, however, is not only the restoration of God's people in the promised land but also the re-creation of the world, the forgiveness of Israel's and Jacob's sins, the pouring out of God's spirit, and the praise of God by his people. Even God-opposing forces represented in Isa 43:20–21 by jackals and ostriches, which in other places symbolize chaos and destruction, will join in this praise. (4) All this underlines the eschatological character of Isaiah's oracle. Further eschatological readings of the pentateuchal Exodus narrative can be found in Jer 31:31–34 and Ezek 37:26, where both prophets announce God's will to establish a new and eternal covenant. With the declaration of a new distribution of the promised land in Hos 2:17, 11:11, and in Ezek 48 we have yet another feature of the Exodus narrative that is employed to describe the eschatological time of salvation. (5)

The author of the first five chapters of the Book of Watchers (6) participates in this eschatological recasting of Israel's past. This is evident from the density of allusions to Moses' final blessing before his death in Deut 33 and to the covenant and the curse into which Israel has entered according to the words of Deut 4 and 27–30. This paper examines how 1 Enoch 1–5 combines the prophetic notion of a call into

(2) Cf. Ex 14:17, 23–29.

(3) Cf. Ex 17:1–7; Num 20:1–11.

(4) Cf. Ps 44:20; Isa 13:21; 34:13; 35:7; Jer 9:10; 10:22; 49:33; 50:39; 51:37; Lam 4:3; and Mic 1:8.

(5) With respect to the implementation of the Exodus typology in Ezra-Nehemiah, Hugh G.M. Williamson ("The Torah and History in Presentations of Restoration in Ezra-Nehemiah," in *Reading the Law: Studies in Honour of Gordon J. Wenham*, ed. Gordon McConville and Karl Möller, LHB 461 [New York, NY: T & T Clark], 162) makes an important observation that is most certainly also true for its usage in the writings of the prophets namely that "the use of typology [...] opens the eye of faith to the hand of God behind the historical process."

(6) The Book of Watchers is only fully extant in its Ethiopic version where it corresponds to 1 En 1–36. According to George W.E. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001], 25), 1 En 1–5 served with its focus on human eschatology as an introduction to an Enochic collection that might even have already extended beyond the Watcher story with additions from chapters 1 En 81–82, 91, 94, 104–105. Leading scholars on Enochic literature such as Józef T. Milik (*The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 141); Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1, 7*); Loren T. Stuckenbruck (*1 Enoch 91–108*, CEJL [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007], 8; *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts* [WUNT 335; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014], 13) date the Book of Watchers into the 3rd century BCE.

the wilderness to initiate an eschatological Exodus with the narrative of the Exodus from the book of Deuteronomy more closely by identifying the various Deuteronomic and prophetic pretexts and by shedding light on the strategy behind the eschatologization of the Deuteronomic account of the covenant at Mt. Sinai. Finally, the paper explores the question to what extent this eschatologizing of the Exodus narrative had an impact on the self-understanding of the earliest recipients of Enochic literature, namely the members of the Yahad who understood themselves as a generation experiencing a life in the wilderness of the nations and who were hoping to recapture Jerusalem in an eschatological battle.

1. The Eschatologization of the Exodus in the Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 1–5)

The eschatologization of the Exodus in 1 En 1–5 is evident from the density of allusions to the pentateuchal Exodus narrative and from the adaptation of features of the eschatologized Exodus known from the books of the later prophets. In the following, due to the fragmentary condition of 4QEn^a (4Q201) (7) containing the Aramaic Book of Watchers, I will have to rely on the Greek rendering of the Book of Watchers extant in Codex Panapolitanus (8) and the Ethiopic translation (9) in my detailed analysis of these allusions and adaptations. In doing so, I assume that the Aramaic *Vorlage*, with its wording and motifs, already must have shown close affinities to the pentateuchal Exodus account and to the eschatologized Exodus of the later prophets since the translator of the Greek Book of Watchers adopted vocabulary and phrasing from the Septuagint translation of these accounts. (10) The Ethiopic

(7) Based on the alphabet of 4QEn^a, Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, 140) and Loren Stuckenbruck (“The Early Traditions Related to 1 Enoch from The Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, SJSJ 121 [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 44–54) following him consider the copy to be made sometime in the first half of the second century.

(8) Following Nickelsburg’s (*1 Enoch I*, 12) choice of sigla henceforth Θ^a. The passages from Codex Panapolitanus quoted in this paper are based on the transcription of Matthew Black “Apocalypsis Henochi Graece,” in *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece* 3, ed. Albert Marie Denis and Marius de Jonge (Leiden: Brill), 5–44.

(9) Following Nickelsburg’s choice of sigla henceforth Ε. References to and quotations from the Ethiopic version of the Book of Watchers are based on Knibb’s (*The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press]) edition who used Rylands Ethiopic Ms. 23 as base-text.

(10) I cannot rule out the possibility that the translator made these connections based on how he understood his Aramaic *Vorlage*. There are however several observations that indicate that the Greek translation is a faithful rendering of the Aramaic Book

translation of its Greek *Vorlage* was in turn carried out very truthfully on the basis of a manuscript that must have been a close congener to 6^a. (11)

of Watchers. A comparison between the fragmentary Aramaic portions of the book and the Greek shows that the translation was conducted without any glossing, paraphrasing, or rewriting. Regarding the text-critical value of the Greek and Ethiopic translation, Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 19) writes: "In the many places where they [e.g. the Aramaic fragments, DS] coincide with the Greek and/or Ethiopic, they strengthen our confidence in those versions, both at those particular places and more generally." In his evaluation of the Aramaic fragments and the Greek and Ethiopic translations of the Book of Enoch, Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.12–13) comes to a similar conclusion and notes: "The Aramaic text of Enoch known to us from the Qumran manuscripts[...] agrees in general terms with the Greek and Ethiopic texts. There are, of course, numerous cases where minor differences exist between the Aramaic, the Greek, and the Ethiopic, but for the most part these are not very substantial, and it would appear that the Greek and Ethiopic texts provide a not too unreliable guide to the Book of Enoch as it was known at Qumran." Furthermore, as will be shown in this paper, 1 En 1–5 is enriched by allusions to the Exodus and wilderness motives from the Pentateuch and the Prophets in almost every section of these first five introductory chapters. These motives are so central to 1 En 1–5 that it is hard to determine which other pragmatic function these chapters would have served if they weren't portraying God's future acts of salvation in terms of an eschatological Exodus.

(11) This can be observed with respect to shared errors or the order of some verses that is deviating from the order of material in the fragments of the Book of Watchers that have been preserved in the Chronography of George Syncellus. Cf. on the matter the textual observations made by Robert H. Charles (*The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited from Twenty-Three MSS. together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906], xiii–xvi). Based on his work as editor of numerous books of the Ethiopic Old Testament, August Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch: Übersetzt und erklärt* [Leipzig: Vogel, 1853], lix) judged that the translation from Greek into Ge'ez was despite the omission of words that were not crucial for the understanding of the text, the addition of others that were in contrast vital for its understanding, and a sometimes paraphrasing rendering of the source text conducted very faithfully in general. Michael Knibb (*Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999], 60) even goes so far as to conclude that "the translation is to a very great extent word for word, based on narrow segmentation of the text, and this is underlined by the way in which the Ethiopic very frequently follows the Greek and its word order almost slavishly, even at times to the point of unintelligibility." The hypothesis by Edward Ullendorff ("An Aramaic 'Vorlage' of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura 48 [Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960]) that the translators of 1 Enoch used besides Greek manuscripts also manuscripts of the Aramaic Enoch tradition has been considered as "highly unlikely" by James C. VanderKam ("The Textual Base for the Ethiopic Translation of 1 Enoch," in idem, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, JSJS 62 [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 395). Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch*, lix) and Ullendorff (*Ethiopia and the Bible*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968], 55–59) estimate that the translation of the Book of Enoch into Ethiopic as part of a bigger endeavour to translate the Old and the New Testament was carried

The first eschatologizing feature of the Exodus narrative to which I would like to draw attention is the revelation of the place of God's theophany in 1 En 1:3–4 / 4QEn^a 1 i 5.

<p>מן קדיש[ה רב] ה [vacat] 5 Col. I [מדרור]</p> <p>3 [...] και ἐξελεύσεται ὁ ἅγιός μου ὁ μέγας ἐκ τῆς κατοικίᾳσεως αὐτοῦ, 4 καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐπὶ γῇν πατήσει ἐπὶ τὸ Σεινὰ ὄρος</p> <p>3 [...] 𐤇𐤊𐤃𐤀𐤕 : 𐤉𐤂𐤁𐤏𐤔 : 𐤌𐤓 𐤒𐤍𐤔 : 𐤔𐤂𐤓𐤕𐤗 : 𐤑𐤕𐤓 # 4 𐤔𐤂𐤓𐤖𐤕 : 𐤅𐤂𐤅𐤔 : 𐤕𐤋 : 𐤈𐤔 : 𐤕𐤎𐤕 [...]</p>	<p>Col. I 5 The Great Holy One will come forth from his dwelling.</p> <p>3 [...] My Great Holy One will come forth from his dwelling, 4 and the God of eternity will tread upon the earth, upon Mount Sinai.</p> <p>3 [...] The Holy and Great One will come forth from his dwelling and the eternal God 4 will tread from thence on Mount Sinai.</p>
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It is not the Mount of Olives as in Zech 14:4 but Mount Sinai, (12) the place where the Torah was given and the covenant was made between God and his rescued people, where God descends to earth to initiate this New Exodus. The use of fire and light imagery in 1 En 1:6–8 and 5:6–8 resembles Moses' description of God's theophany in Deut 33:2 where God comes with light (13) and אשדת which was understood by ancient readers as referring to the two separate words אש "fire" and דת "law" as the Targumic tradition testifies. (14) While God's light as a divine blessing is connected in 1 En 1:8 and 5:6–8 with joy, peace, mercy,

out sometime between the 4th and the 6th century CE, a timeframe which is also excepted in recent scholarship by Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.22) and Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch* 1, 15).

(12) With a reference to Philo, Spec. 2:188–9; LAB 11:1–5; and Hab 3:2–3 ♀, Lars Hartman (*Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*, CB.NTS 12 [Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1979], 42–44) has pointed out that the Sinai theophany has become a topos in Jewish literature from the Second Temple period that marks with an eschatological perspective the events related to it as pivotal moments for the whole of mankind. See also Joshua Schwartz, “סיני במסורת היהודית ובחשבת ישראל,” in *קדמוניות סיני: מחקרים בתולדות חצי-האי*, ed. Zeev Meshel and Israel Finkelstein (Hakkibutz Hameuchad: Tel-Aviv, 1980), 82–85.

(13) Cf. also Ps 50:2–3.

(14) The Targumic tradition renders the word almost consistently with אִשְׁתָּא “(from the midst of) fire (he gave) the Law (to us)” (אִשְׁתָּא וְאִשְׁתָּא, אִשְׁתָּא וְאִשְׁתָּא, or אִשְׁתָּא ... וְאִשְׁתָּא “and his law (from the midst of the flame of) fire” (אִשְׁתָּא). The *Θ* translates the *hapax legomenon* with ἄγγελος and gives witness to a reading tradition that possibly associates אִשְׁתָּא with mighty heavenly figures a meaning that could indicate a lexical affinity to the Old South Arabian collective noun ṣD “men, worriers” (cf. Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, ed. Rudolf Meyer and Herbert Donner; 18th ed. [Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1987], 105, and Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgarten, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Study Edition [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 93). Either reading tradition of the verse fits well into the theophany of 1 En 1:3–8 with its

preservation, (15) and understanding, the fire imagery in 1 En 1:6 is used to denote his judgment against the wicked and the watchers—the angels who, according to 1 En 8, revealed the secrets of heaven to mankind, leading to all kinds of atrocities on earth. This leaves no part of nature untouched, but it rends the whole earth asunder. (16)

The combination of motifs of divine blessing in 1 En 5:7–9 and of divine curse in 1 En 5:5–6 / 4QEn^a 1 ii 14–16 show close resemblance to Moses' prophetic outlook for the future of the people of Israel in Deut 4 and 28, to his oration in Deut 29–32, and to his final blessing before his death in Deut 33.

7 καὶ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς φῶς καὶ χάρις
καὶ εἰρήνη, καὶ αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσου-
σιν τὴν γῆν [...] 8 τότε δοθήσεται
τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς φῶς καὶ χάρις, καὶ
αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.
τότε δοθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς
σοφία, καὶ πάντες οὗτοι ζήσονται,
καὶ οὐ μὴ ἁμαρτήσονται ἔτι [...], καὶ
ἔσται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πεφωτισμένῳ φῶς
καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιστήμονι νόημα, καὶ
οὐ μὴ πλημμελήσουσιν 9 [...] καὶ ἡ
ζωὴ αὐτῶν αὐξηθήσεται ἐν εἰρήνῃ,
καὶ τὰ ἔτη τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν πληθυν-
θήσεται ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ εἰρήνῃ
αἰῶνος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς
ζωῆς αὐτῶν

7 ወለጎሩ ያንሰ : ይከውን : ብርሃን : ወፍ
ሥሐ : ወሰላም : ወእመንቱ : ይወርስብ :
ለምድር : [...] 8 ወእመሂ : ይትወህቦሙ :
ለጎሩ ያን : ጥበብ : ወከሊሎሙ : እሎንቱ :
የሐይወ : ወእይደግሙ : አበላ : [...] አላ :
ይገንዩ : ዘቦሙ : ጥበብ [...] 9 [...] አላ :
ኀልቁ : መዋዕለ : ሕይወቶሙ : ይፈፍ
ጽሙ : ወይልህቅ : ሕይወቶሙ : በሰላም :
ወዓመታተ : ፍሥሐሆሙ : ይበዝኑ : በኃ
ሄት : ወበሰላም : ዘለዓለም : ውስተ :
ከሉ : መዋዕለ : ሕይወቶሙ ።

7 And for the chosen will be light,
grace, and peace and they will inherit
the land [...] 8 Then light and joy will
be given to the chosen and they will
inherit the land. Then wisdom will be
given to all the chosen and they all will
live. And they will sin no more. [...] And
there will be light to the enlight-
ened man and there will be under-
standing to the wise man and they will
not commit sins (anymore). 9 [...] And
their lives will grow in peace and the
years of their joy will increase in rejoic-
ing and eternal peace in all days of their
lives.

7 And for these chosen will be light,
joy, and peace and they will inherit the
earth. [...] 8 And then wisdom will be
given to the chosen and they all will
live. And they will sin no more. [...] But
those who have wisdom will be
humble. [...] 9 [...] But they will com-
plete the number of days of their life
and their life will grow in peace. And
the years of their joy will be numerous
in happiness and in eternal peace in all
the days of their life.

mention of God's army appearing at his side and its reference to light and blessing that is bestowed upon the righteous.

(15) Hartman (*Asking for a Meaning*, 25) has shown that the basis for these blessings can be found in the Priestly Blessing of Num 6:25–26.

(16) In this context, Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 146) underlines the close resemblance of the imagery “of melting mountains” in the Enochic account to the theophanic manifestations in Mic 1:4; Ps 97:5; Isa 63:19 ⑥; and Jdt 16:15.

14 Col. II לכן אדין יומיכן תלוט[ן] שני
 15 [...] ושנא אבדנכן יסגין בל[ע]ל[מין]
 16 [...] שמהכ[ן] ללוט עלם ל[...]

Col. II 14 For this reason your days
 you will cur[se and] the years 15 [...
 and the year]s of your destruction
 will increase in [an e]t[ernal] c[urse
 and mer]cy 16 [... your name]s as an
 eternal curse for [...]

5 τοιγάρ τὰς ἡμέρας ὑμῶν ὑμεῖς
 καταράσεσθε καὶ τὰ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς
 ὑμῶν ἀπολείται, καὶ τὰ ἔτη τῆς ἀπω-
 λείας ὑμῶν πληθυνθήσεται ἐν κατάρα
 αἰώνων, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἔλεος
 καὶ εἰρήνη. 6 τότε ἔσται τὰ ὀνόματα
 ὑμῶν εἰς κατάραν αἰώνιον πᾶσιν τοῖς
 δικαίοις [...] καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοῖς ἁμαρ-
 τωλοῖς οὐχ ὑπάρξει σωτηρία, ἀλλὰ
 ἐπὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς κατάλυσις, κατάρα.

5 For that reason you will curse your
 days and the years of your life will
 perish and the years of your destruc-
 tion will multiply in an eternal curse.
 And there will be no mercy or peace
 for you. 6 Then your names will be an
 eternal curse for all the righteous. [...]
 And for all you sinners will be no sal-
 vation, but upon you all destruction
 (and) curse.

5 ወበእንተዝ : ኣንትሙ : መዋዕሊከሙ :
 ትረግሙ : ወዓመታተ : ኣይወትከሙ :
 ተሓጉሉ : ወይበዝህ : መርገም : ዘለዓ
 ለም : ወኢይከውነከሙ : ሣህል ፡ 6 በው
 እቲ : መዋዕል : ትሁቡ : ሰላመ (17) :
 ዚኣከሙ : በርግመት : ዘለዓለም : ለኩሉ :
 ዳድቃን : [...]

5 And for that reason you will curse
 your days and the years of your life
 will perish. And an eternal curse will
 increase and you will not find mercy.
 6 In these days you will give your
 name as an eternal curse for all the
 righteous [...]

These passages from Deuteronomy all revolve around the central role of the Torah for the salvation of Israel. (18) In Deut 4:6 the Torah is shown as the symbol of wisdom for all nations to see. In the eschaton the chosen are freely granted with the gift of wisdom and enlightenment and with the ability to sin no more, implying that this future generation will have a full understanding of the Torah and that they will henceforth act in accordance with its precepts. This idea might have originated from Jer 31:33–34 and Ezek 36:25–27, both of which forecast a new covenant with God writing his law in the hearts of his people, as Nickelsburg (19) has rightly pointed out. The prolongation of life is portrayed as a fruit of Torah observance. This is a theme that appears several times in Deuteronomy, namely in 4:24–26; 30:6, 15, 18, 20 and 32:47. The reference to the prolongation of the lifespan was so important to the author of 1 En 5:9 that he even accepted the tension that arises from an eschatological reading of this motif. While

(17) Read with BM 485; Berl; Abb 35; Ab 55; and Tana 9 ḥṣ.

(18) On the distinctiveness of Deuteronomy as “the law for the land” see George J. Brooke, “The ‘Canon within the Canon’ at Qumran and in the New Testament,” in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 2005), 37–40.

(19) *1 Enoch* 1, 163.

the mention of the completion of the days of life indicate that life in the eschaton is not unending—an idea that the author shares also with Deutero-Isaiah's account of a recreated cosmos in 65:17–25 (20)—1 En 27:1–3 actually implies the opposite, namely, that the cursed and the blessed will have an eternal habitation, the former in the cursed valley of the sons of Hinnom (21) and the latter in the blessed land adjacent to the valley. Now, the mention of the eternal curse in the words of the verdict in 1 En 5:4–9 bring to mind the curse into which Israel has entered according to the words of Deut 4 and 27–30. Those who, according to Deut 29:19–20, have gone astray and have not listened to the word of God will receive no forgiveness and will be singled out for distress, which will result in the words of Deut 30:18—that is, inevitable extinction. Through the great density of allusions to God's covenant with the Exodus generation displayed in Deut 28–33, and the references to blessings and curses that follow observance or abandonment of the commandments of God, it becomes clear that the verdict in Enoch's oracle in 1 En 5:4–9 spoken against sinners and blasphemers will be made on the basis of the Torah revealed at Mount Sinai. The author of 1 En 1–5, who lets Enoch expound his vision for a future generation (that is, the author's own generation), knows that his readers will understand his words fully on the background of the Mosaic Torah.

Another example of the eschatologizing of the Exodus narrative is the motif of the desert wandering. This only becomes clear from the wider context of the Book of Watchers. When God signals the beginning of the eschaton with his descent from heaven at mount Sinai in 1 En 1:4, final judgement is then executed by the gathering of the righteous as well as of the cursed and the blasphemers in Jerusalem, the centre of the promised land. (22) This presupposes a movement of the scenery from Sinai where God and his angels set foot on earth to the land of God's promise. (23) According to 1 En 27, this final drama will occur in the valley of the sons of Hinnom adjacent to the holy city

(20) According to Brooke ("Canon within the Canon," 40), it is the motif of prophecy expressed in the person of Moses that links Deuteronomy with Isaiah.

(21) For the development of the Valley of Hinnom as the eschatological landscape for future punishment see Klaus Bieberstein, "Mythical Space and Mythical Time: Jerusalem as the Site of the Last Judgement," in *Constructions of Space III: Biblical Spatiality and the Sacred*, ed. Jorunn Økland, Cornelis de Vos, and Karen J. Wenell, LHBOTS 540 (New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2016), 46–49.

(22) A similar topography of holiness combining God's dwelling—Sinai—Mount Zion can be witnessed in Jub 8:18–19.

(23) If Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch* 1, 25) is correct with his assumption that 1 En 1–5 was created as an introduction to the Book of Watchers by a different author than the rest of the book then the correlation of eschatological events beginning with God's descend at Sinai in the introduction leading up to the conquest of the promised land

of Jerusalem. The reference to God lowering and breaking down hills and mountains in 1 En 1:6 might first of all mirror the making of a way through the wilderness as it is recounted in Isaiah's new Exodus in Isa 43:16, 19. Second, it might also mark the beginning of the re-creation of the cosmos, which goes hand in hand with God walking the earth from Sinai to the promised land, as we see in Mic 1:3–4. Together with the mention of the fearing and quaking watchers, this passage, however, shows greatest affinity to Ezekiel's account of the eschatological battle against Gog and Magog in Ezek 38. There Ezekiel prophesies that in the last days the nations will gather to fight against Israel. In Ezek 38:20 God's fiery anger is said to cause an earthquake that shakes all the inhabitants of the earth and breaks down mountains, ravines and every wall that might give refuge to the approaching army of nations.

This military imagery saturates the whole sequence of 1 En 1–5 and presents the movement between Mount Sinai and Jerusalem—the two major centers of salvation history—as a military campaign. In the description of God's theophany in 1 En 1:4, God is, according to Codex Panapolitanus, said to come forth “from his military camp” or “from his army” (ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ; **ⲡⲓⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛⲧⲉ**). That God emerges from or with his military camp is reminiscent of Israel's camp in the wilderness and the tabernacle at its centre. (24) According to Deut 23:15 God walks in the midst of the camp of Israel to go forth from it and to deliver Israel from its enemies. In the eschatological recasting of the Exodus in 1 Enoch it becomes clear that Israel's earthly camp has a heavenly counterpart from which God carries out a final war on a universal scale.

While God declares peace with the righteous and grants them his protection, he carries out the verdict against the wicked by waging war against them in 1 En 1:9 with “his myriads and his holy ones” (ταῖς μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ). This sequence of eschatological events matches the framework of Moses' blessing in Deut 33:2 and 33:27–28. In contrast with Moses' blessing, however, the eschatological recasting of the Exodus in 1 En ascribes the expulsion and destruction of God's enemies not solely to the giving of the promised land but also to God's pronouncement of final judgement. The verdict against the wicked and the blasphemers that is based on their deeds is in its eschatological dimension not only directed against foreign nations that stand against God's people on their way to the promised land but universally against everyone who disobeys God's law. This

and final judgement in Jerusalem in the main body of the book was superimposed on the Watcher story by this later author.

(24) On the notion of God's military camp see also 2 Chron 14:12.

also includes those among the people of Israel who do not act in accordance with God's commandments, as it is clear from 1 En 5:4.

Thus, the giving of the promised land becomes in the eschatological recasting of the Exodus a reward for the righteous who remained faithful to the word of God. Just like Moses, who assures the inheritance of the land to the congregation of the people of Israel in Deut 4:1 and 30:5, Enoch proclaims its giving to be an irrevocable promise. The inheritance of the promised land is mentioned in the Ethiopic version once in 5:7 and three times in the Greek version of the Codex Panopolitanus in verses 6, 7 and 8 (25) of the same chapter. The Greek phrasing κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν appears no less than four times in the Greek translation of the Pentateuch and the Prophets, of which three illuminate how the Exodus could be read in an eschatological setting. In Num 14:31 God refuses to give the land to the murmuring congregation that is unwilling to conquer the promised land and is more convinced to go back to slavery in Egypt. In this situation God denies them the entry into Canaan and promises the land to a new generation. (26) An eschatological reading of this verse might have inspired 1 En 90:6–7 from the Animal Apocalypse with its episode of the newborn lambs depicting the final events right before the beginning of the eschaton. The eschatological reading might also have inspired Jub 23:16–30, which presents a conflict between a young and an old generation, which eventually leads to a time of peace, joy, and salvation for the younger generation. Isa 65 also shows conceptual similarity to this. Isa 65:9 refers to a new generation from Jacob and new heirs from Judah that God will raise and to which he will give the land. This has become necessary because the rest of the people have become unfaithful by serving other gods. As a consequence, their names shall become a curse, according to Isa 65:15–16. Nickelsburg has shown that both verses are as “a modified paraphrase” (27) adopted in 1 En 5:6. Isa 60:21 and 60:7, the second and third passages that deploy an identical wording with respect to the inheritance of the promised land, are imbedded in an oracle of salvation for Jerusalem. (28) Several more motifs in Isa 60 and 61, for example, the giving of light in 60:1–2, 19, the gathering of Israel from afar in 60:4, the end of God's wrath against his people in 60:10, the righteousness of God's chosen people in 60:21, and ever-increasing joy in 61:7, match the account of the eschatological Exodus in 1 En 1–5. The eschatological setting of 1 En 1–5, however,

(25) According to Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 159 verse 8 is probably a dittography.

(26) Cf. Deut 1:39.

(27) Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 161.

(28) That the Septuagint translates ארץ in these passages with γῆ instead of χώρα comes not as surprise due to the polysemous character of the word denoting “land” as well as “earth”.

makes it probable that the promise of the land is now extended to a promise to inherit the earth as a whole.

If the aforementioned dating of the Book of Watchers into the 3rd century BCE, proposed by scholars such as Milik, Nickelsburg, and Stuckenbruck (29) is correct, then we have after Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel in the 6th century BCE an author from the Hellenistic period who gives witness to the fact that the Exodus was remembered as God's central act of delivering Israel from their enemies, and that the Exodus narrative still inspired eschatological imagination. The inclusion of prophetic traditions, which sketched out the final events of world history on the basis of the pentateuchal Exodus narrative, and their incorporation into 1 En 1–5, could have been triggered by the wars of the Diadochi. With a military campaign by Ptolemy I, conquering Judaea and Samaria in 301 BCE, and no less than five more Syrian wars between the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic empires for domination of the Levant during the 3rd century BCE, there was enough turmoil and change in the region that could have easily sparked the expectation in prophetic-oriented circles that the dawn of the eschatological era was imminent. (30) It is also worth noting that Ptolemy I who was crowned Pharaoh by Egyptian priests in 305 BCE (31) deported, according to *Let. Aris.* 12–13 and Josephus' depiction of his conquest of Judea and Samaria in *Ant.* 12:7 and in *Ag. Ap.* 1:22, part of the population to Egypt. (32) The experience of deportation and the feeling of being a plaything of the Ptolemies as a new risen Pharaonic dynasty may have inspired hope for God's imminent intervention. The combination of the prophetic notion of a new Exodus, derived mainly from Deutero-Isaiah, with Deuteronomic traditions about blessing, curses, and the inheritance of the land as a covenant reward for Torah-observance, mirror in a way the Deuteronomistic pattern of Sin-Punishment-Repentance-Restoration. (33) The

(29) See comments under footnote 4.

(30) See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 25. For an overview of the political crises in Judea during the rule of the Diadochi see Richard A. Horsely, *Revolt of the Scribes: Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2010), 21–32. For different interpretations of the Watcher story see David Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," in *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35, who argues instead for a hidden polemic against the Jerusalem priesthood.

(31) Cf. Gustav A. Lehmann, "Das neue Kölner Historiker-Fragment (P. Köln Nr. 247) und die *χρονική σύνταξις* des Zenon von Rhodos (FGrHist 523)," in *ZPE* 72 (1988): 8–9.

(32) On the political circumstances in the Levant under the Diadochi see Peter Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 8–12.

(33) On the utilization of this scheme in Jewish literature from the Greco-Roman period see Michael Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," in *HeyJ* 17 (1976): 264–8.

author of 1 En 1–5 is thus making clear that observance and abandonment of the Torah—with the reward of blessing and the inheritance of the land for the former and with a curse for the latter—have not only an effect on the earthly existence of the people of Israel but also on their existence in the world to come. In this eschatological scenario, however, there is no more room for remorse and repentance. This possibility is forfeited with God's descent at Mount Sinai. If the new world in the eschatological era is the Promised Land, then the whole world is to be considered as the realm of exile before the dawn of the eschaton. (34) Restoration and inheritance of the land is granted only to the chosen ones and not to Israel as a whole. This may be the reason why 1 En 1–5 does not mention the covenant of God with his people, but rather, following Isaiah 65:15, (35) addresses only the elect of the people. (36)

2. The First Readers of the Book of Watchers: Reception historical observations

It can hardly be denied that the first recipients of the Book of Watchers can be found among the authors of the later Enoch sources such as the Animal Apocalypse (4QEn^{d,e,f}/1 En 85–90) and the Apocalypse of Weeks (4QEn^{c,g}/1 En 93:1–10; 91:11–17/). (37) Right after

(34) This includes even the land of Judaea at the time of the author of 1 En. George Brooke (“The Formation and Renewal of Scriptural Tradition,” in idem, *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method*, SBL.EJL 39 [Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013], 22) calls this an “integrated reading of the past [that is] based on the schematic application of a pattern [...] in which Israel goes repeatedly through the stages of sin, exile, and return.” On the adaptation of this pattern in some of the texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls see also Michael A. Knibb, “A Note on 4Q372 and 4Q390,” in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, Anton Hilhorst, and Casper J. Labuschagne, VTS 49 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 166–7.

(35) Cf. also Ezek 20:38.

(36) The gathering of the righteous is therefore not only to be understood as bringing Israel back from their exile among the nations but also as a “re-gathering of Israel from Israel” as Michael E. Fuller (*The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts*, BZNW 138 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006], 48–84) has shown in the case CD A I 3–8, 1 En 90:33–36, and 4 Ezra 7:60–61. The fact that parts if not the entire Book of Watchers originated most probably in a Palestinian context (cf. Milik, *The Book of Enoch*, 25–27; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 65; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man*, WMANT 61 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988], 103–4) and is as such not written from a diaspora perspective makes it clear that the application of the Exodus motif with its reference to the gathering of God's people follows along these very same lines.

(37) Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 359–60. For a convincing illustration of how the literary collection of Enochic writings was influenced by the Book of Watchers and

the Animal Apocalypse's depiction of the rebuilding of the Second Temple and the renewal of its cultic activities in 1 En 89:72–75 it gets manifest to Enoch that only after a short period of time the newly returned from exile will again be dispersed among the nations. The author behind 1 En 90:2–5 even goes so far as to reverse Ezekiel's vision of hope for the restoration of God's people in the land of Israel in Ezek 37:5–14 (38) by describing their demise in the image of birds devouring sheep until they are slipped off their flesh with their bones left behind on the ground thus shattering any hopes among his readers that the time of exile has come to an end with the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Second Temple. The perception of exile in the Apocalypse of Weeks is by contrast more subtle. (39) Very much like in the slightly later passage Dan 9:24–27 which also structures time into periods of weeks, (40) neither the return from exile nor the rebuilding of the Second Temple are mentioned. (41) After the vision of the Solomonic Temple going up in flames at the end of the sixth week in 1 En 93:7, Enoch sees the rise of an apostate generation in the seventh week. (42)

grew together to a single composition see Stuckenbruck "Early Traditions," 8–16. Joseph L. Angel ("The Humbling of the Arrogant and the 'Wild Man' and 'Tree Stump' Traditions in the *Book of Giants* and Daniel 4," in *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan*, ed. Matthew Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Enrico Morano, WUNT 360 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016], 61, n. 1) gives testimony to an emerging consensus among scholars of Enochic literature that due to the higher complexity of the story the *Book of Giants* is most probably literary dependent on the Book of Watchers.

(38) Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 395.

(39) Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 447.

(40) For scholars like John J. Collins (*Daniel* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993], 359), Reinhard G. Kratz ("Die Visionen des Daniel," in *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift: Festschrift für Odil Hannes Steck zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. idem, Thomas Krüger, and Konrad Schmid, BZAW 30 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000], 233–5) and Christoph Berner (*Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum*, BZAW 363 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006], 21–22.39) Dan 9 is to be seen as the latest addition to the book and is thus connected to the final redaction of the book in the Maccabean period.

(41) Cf. Michael Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document," in *JSOT* 25 (1983): 110; idem, "Intertestamental Period," 254–5 and Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen*, 51. The author behind Dan 9:24–26 does not deny the existence of a sanctuary in Jerusalem but he downplays the efforts of rebuilding Jerusalem and its temple by the post-exilic generations by simply referring to the establishment of *רחוב וחרוץ* ("temple?) square and moat" within a period 434 years. There is neither mention of the wall (Neh 2:12–4:6) or the temple (Ezra 5:2–6:15) being built.

(42) Berner (*Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen*, 143) points out that this apostate generation is described very much the same as the generation before the flood in the second week in 1 En 93:4 with *שקרא* "lie" and *חמסא* "violence". This implies that the generations of the post-exilic era have again reached a state of moral depravity that will lead to divine judgement on a universal scale.

Following this, it is revealed to Enoch that a righteous and triumphant generation will execute judgement leading at the end of the eighth week to the building of *היכל [מ]ל[כ]ות רבא ברבות וזה לכול דרי עלמין* “the temple of the kingship of the Great One, in his splendidous greatness, for all the generations of eternity” (4QEn^s 1 iv 18). (43) By characterizing the righteous and the sinners with language that closely parallels the description of the chosen and the wicked in 1 En 1–5 (44) the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks concatenates his account of the ages of the world with the oracle of the Book of Watchers. As a consequence, the major historical events of the first seven weeks outlined in the Apocalypse (1 En 93:3–10) can now be understood as a prelude leading to God’s theophany at Mount Sinai. Following this, from the end of week seven up until week 10 (1 En 93:10 and 91:11–15) the gathering of the righteous and the execution of judgement shows the Apocalypse of Weeks’ conformity with 1 En 5:7–9 and 27:2–4.

Members of the Yahad appear to be among the earliest recipients of Enochic literature known to us today, given the number of fragments of the Book of Watchers in Qumran Cave 4. It may come as no surprise, therefore, that reception-historical influence of an eschatological recasting of the Exodus narrative and the implementation of the Sin-Exile-Return pattern can be witnessed in Yahadic writings as well. (45) Brooke, by juxtaposing the 390 years of CD A I 5–6 (46) with the 490 years of God’s turning away from his people announced in 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^b (4Q387) frag. 2 col. ii 3–4, (47) argues “that the movement considered itself to be out of exile, but still in the process of return.” (48)

(43) If Martin Hengel (*Judaism and Hellenism* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974], 176), James C. VanderKam (*Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament [Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995], 89; “Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks,” *CBQ* 46 [1984]: 521–3), and Stuckenbruck (*1 Enoch 91–108*, 60–62) are correct in assuming that week seven portrays events that led up to the Maccabean revolt then the author behind the *Apocalypse of Weeks* considers the Early Second Temple period as a time of ongoing exile.

(44) For observations on the close affinity of the Apocalypse of Weeks and Book of Watchers see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 422 and Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 9–10.60–64.

(45) Cf. George Brooke, “The Place of Prophecy in Coming out of Exile: The Case of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, *SJSJ* 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 535–7.

(46) Eduard Lohse suggests taking Ezek 4:5 as the point of reference.

(47) See also Dan 9:24. Similar observations can be made regarding two only fragmentarily preserved scrolls 4Q390 (cf. Jub 23:14–31 and Knibb’s [“A Note on 4Q372 and 4Q390,” 170–177] remarks on both) and 4Q501 (see Hindy Najman, “Towards a Study of the Uses of the Concept of Wilderness in Ancient Judaism,” in *DSD* 13 [2006]: 99–113 esp. 103–4). Both share the same notion of a period of sin, punishment, and an ongoing live in exile for the post-exilic period.

(48) Brooke, “The Place of Prophecy,” 541.

It is this specific perception of “living in liminal space and time” (49) in which the group’s prophetic practice emerged as a means of mastering the experience of exile and of delivering hope towards being prepared to reoccupy Jerusalem in the future. (50) The impact on the self-understanding of the Yahad as a generation experiencing exile and a new Exodus from this exile is apparent from the language used in CD A VII 6; IX 11; X 23; and XIII 4 to designate a settlement of the group as *מחנה* (“camp”) as it is reminiscent of the biblical Exodus group settling in camps on their way from Egypt to the Promised Land. (51) It is particularly the inner structure of these camps envisaged by CD A XII 21b–XIII 2 that echoes the description of the Exodus group in Num 31:4–6 and Deut 1:15. In addition to that, Michael Knibb has drawn attention to the sequence of events enumerated in CD A II 17b–III 14a beginning with the fall of the Watchers (52) and leading up to the time of exile in which a group is elected with which God establishes a covenant. (53) It is again the silence about the return from exile and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple which immediately strikes the eye. A reception of the idea of the whole world as a realm of exile could be present in 1QM I 2–3 where the sons of light are identified as “the exiled of the desert.” (54) There, not only the kingdoms of the Gentiles (55) but also Jerusalem are described as a place of wilderness. The last fight between the sons of light and the sons of darkness described in the War Scroll could then mirror the notion of the final war right before the gathering of the righteous in the eschatological Promised Land. The Qumran group’s literal realization of Deutero-Isaiah’s (Isa 40:3) (56) call into the wilderness might also be seen as a vibrant response to the experience of an incomplete restoration of Israel, its oppression by the dominance of foreign nations (57) but also of other Jewish groups, (58) and the experience of an ongoing life in exile. (59) Loss of the land and hope of regaining it

(49) Brooke, “The Place of Prophecy,” 541.

(50) Cf. Brooke, “The Place of Prophecy,” 540–6, 549.

(51) Cf. Num 2:3, 10, 17–18; Jos 6:18.

(52) Cf. Gen 6:1–4 and 1 En 6–8.

(53) Cf. “Exile in the Damascus Document,” 109–10.

(54) On the use of the wilderness motif in Ancient Jewish sources see Najman, “Concept of Wilderness,” 99–113.

(55) For the expression “wilderness of the nations” see Ezek 20:35.

(56) 1QS VIII 13–16 (cf. IX 19–20) interprets the act of segregation of members of the community from the wicked and the study of the Torah as a way into the desert preparing the way of the Lord. Brooke, “The Place of Prophecy,” 548 notes: “The actualising of the wilderness experience in taking up residence at Qumran caused the community there to reflect on its second century B.C.E. parent movement and its leader as being both out of exile and as still being in exile.”

(57) Cf. 1QpHab II 11–15; III 4–13; IV 1–13; VI 1–12; IX 6–7.

(58) Cf. 1QpHab IX 9–12; X 9–13.

(59) Cf. 1QpHab XI 4–8; as well as Brooke, “The Place of Prophecy,” 548.

might also have shaped the groups self-understanding as a “congregation of the poor” (4Q171 1–10 ii 2 9–12; cf. 1–10 iii 10).

Conclusion

This study aimed to shed light on the role of the Exodus narrative in the eschatological imagination of different groups and authors of Ancient Judaism, with a special focus on 1 En 1–5. The experience of ongoing life in the diaspora (for part of the people of Israel) and of the oppression of neighbouring empires in the land of Israel was decisive for the eschatological reading of the Exodus narrative. Overcoming this situation by remembering and recasting God’s former acts of salvation kept alive the hope that the oppressed would again be saved and be delivered from the captivity of the nations by God’s saving intervention.

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A READING OF PSALM 104:1–13 ACCORDING TO THE TEXT CONTAINED IN 4QPSALMS^{D*}

THE aims of this study are modest, but I hope in the very doing of the study that something significant will be achieved. In the following pages I present a reading of Ps 104:1–13, paying particular attention to poetics and use of language. (1) The specific text I will be reading, however, is not the text contained in the Leningrad Codex (L) but in 4QPsalms^d. I offer no apology for choosing this version of the text over any other. (2) The text of Ps 104 presented in 4QPsalms^d reflects a real (3) text that was used by a real community in the late Second Temple period. (4) It deserves to be read—not just as one witness

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(1) I limit myself to these verses because the features of the text indicate that they are a unit; vv. 14 and following belong to another unit, and the structural features there operate differently than in vv. 1–13.

(2) I do consider 4QPsalms^d to present an earlier version of Ps 104, but the point does not concern us here.

(3) Here I refer to the frequent criticism of modern eclectic editions as being dispreferred to “real” texts, which cuts equally against using a manuscript from the Masoretic tradition—itsself the result of scholarly textual activity. I do not mean to say that the text I present below and then interpret is “real” in every sense; but it is a careful approximation of a text that would have been read from 4QPsalms^d in antiquity—it is not eclectic, and it is not medieval.

(4) The textual artifact itself may have been a copy for personal use or even a scribal exercise; Anna Krauß, personal correspondence. As for the text contained within the artifact, however, we have good reason to think it was in wide circulation—both in oral and written performances. Though 4QPsalms^d presents some unique readings, it often agrees with the Masoretic tradition and/or the Septuagint version (in varying combinations); in other words, it is not an idiosyncratic text.

among many or even in comparison to other witnesses, but as a text in its own right. (5)

I distinguish between *textual artifact* and *text*; the former is a physical object (the manuscript) whereas the latter is the set of words (in a linguistic sense, not a written/visual sense) represented on the textual artifact. Textual artifacts consist of physical material with written symbols, whereas texts consist of language. (6) The aim of my study, then, is a reading of the *text* of Ps 104 as accessed through 4QPsalms^d, not an analysis of the *textual artifact* 4QPsalms^d. (7) In my reading, Ps 104 prompts the audience to consider the timing of God's creational activity, and becomes a space for their reflection. The text does not say that God continues to create in the present, nor does it ask whether he does so; the text does, however, lead the reader to pose the question. Moreover, it provides a location (the text itself) where the reader can contemplate the possible answer(s). Later Jewish and Christian traditions—under the influence of Ps 104 and in echoes of Ps 104—show the continued importance of the idea that God may still be creating in some sense. I take these as evidence that Ps 104 was effective in evoking the question of God's creating in the present.

I present the text with an English translation below. Because I am concerned primarily with the text, not the textual artifact, I fill in lacunas (indicated by Hebrew in grey) in 4QPsalms^d using other witnesses to Ps 104, and I vocalize the Hebrew. The text of Ps 104 that 4QPsalms^d represented to readers had no gaps where our manuscript currently has lacunas (thus, I reconstruct), and texts consist of language, which is itself fundamentally phonological (thus, I vocalize). (8)

(5) Compare the L-centered attitude found in most engagements of Ps 104, for example, Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Eric Zenger, *Psalms 3*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011), 60: in versions of Ps 104 found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, "the alterations from [the Masoretic Text] ... serve to locate the speaker within the community ... or to clarify the syntactic relationships; or they are traceable to quirks in the writing." In this essay, I refer to L at various points not because I want to contrast the text of 4QPsalms^d with the text of L, but because I want to contrast my reading of Ps 104 with other readings—the vast majority of which are readings of the text presented in L. I refer to L rather than "the Masoretic Text" because it maintains the clear distinction between text and textual artifact.

(6) Mark Hale, *Historical Linguistics: Theory and Method* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 19–26. Though not all definitions of "text" make this distinction, it is crucial to my approach; for an overview, see Ronald L. Troxel, "What is the 'Text' in Textual Criticism?" *VT* 66 (2016): 605–612.

(7) For a description of 4QPsalms^d, see Eugene C. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4 XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD XVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 63–71.

(8) Unless otherwise noted, my reconstruction agrees with the reconstruction presented in the standard editions; see DJD XVI, 67–70; Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical*

Though it sometimes plays a supporting role, the reconstructed text is never determinative in my reading of Ps 104. With one exception, our best witnesses (the Masoretic tradition, Septuagint, and other Dead Sea Scrolls) do not vary substantially in the lacunas, especially with respect to readings that impact my interpretation. (9)

1 My soul, bless the LORD.

¹ בְּרַכֵּי נַפְשִׁי אֶת יְהוָה

LORD God, you are very great,

יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים גְּדֹלָת מְאֹד

you wear majesty and splendor.

הוֹד וְהָדָר תִּלְבָּשׁ

2 Wrapper of (10) light like a garment,
stretcher of the heavens like a tarp.

² עָשִׂי אֹר כְּשֹׁלְמָה

3 Builder, upon the waters, of his chamber,
the setter of clouds as his chariot,
traveler on the wings of the wind.

נוֹטִי שָׁמַיִם כִּירִיעָה

³ מְקַרֵּה בַּמַּיִם (11) עֲלֵיתוֹ

הַשָּׁם עֲבִים רֶכֶבוֹ

מְהַלֵּךְ עַל כַּנְפֵי רוּחַ

4 Maker of his messengers into winds,
ones who serve him into flaming fire.

⁴ עָשִׂי מְלָאכָיו רוּחוֹת

מְשֻׁרְתָיו אֵשׁ לֹהֵט

5 Establisher of the earth on its places:
that it should not totter, ever.

⁵ יוֹסֵד אֶרֶץ עַל מְכוּנֶיהָ

בֶּל תִּמוּט עוֹלָם וָעֶד

Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants, VTSup 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 667, 690. In the larger lacunas, I mainly present the text of L, which is more or less representative of all our main witnesses—they do not vary substantially in these lacunas except in v. 6a, addressed below. The reconstruction in the larger lacunas fits the proposed contents and parameters of the artifact (i.e., which verses were included, and the number and length of lines) presented in DJD XVI, 63; cf. 65 where the editors identify a missing stich later in the manuscript on the basis of material reconstruction. On using Tiberian Hebrew and nequdot to represent Ancient Hebrew, see Ronald Hendel, *Steps to a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, TCSt 10 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 31–33. While imperfect, Tiberian vocalization is the best available system for talking about the language of the text within an essay on reading Ps 104 intended for biblical scholars.

(9) My understanding on this point is based on my work editing Ps 104 for *The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition*. The only place where an alternative reconstruction would affect my reading is the verb כְּסִיתוֹ in v. 6a, where the Septuagint reflects βύστω, “his clothing.” See below.

(10) I understand 4QPsalms^d’s III-ה participles that end in י to represent the bound singular form of the participle; e.g., עָשִׂי represents עֹשֶׂה, equivalent to עֹשֶׂה in Tiberian Hebrew. See Edward Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 158; cf. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), §100.34; *ibid.*, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2018), 74–75.

(11) The editors of 4QPsalms^d reconstruct plural עֲלֵיתוֹ here, in agreement with MT’s text (עֲלֵיתוֹ); 4QPsalms^d, however, uses full orthography elsewhere for plural nouns with clitic pronouns, thus my reconstruction of singular עֲלֵיתוֹ. Both reconstructions are consistent with the size of the lacuna.

- 6 With the deep, like clothing, you covered it:
that the waters should stand on mountains
- 7 that from your rebuke they should flee,
from your thunder's voice should be hurried,
- 8 that they should go up mountains, down valleys,
to the place which you established for them.
- 9 You set (13) a boundary, that they should not cross it,
should not return to cover the earth.
- 10 Unleasher of springs in the wadis:
that they should go between the mountains,
- 11 that the beasts should drink [*object unknown*],
that donkeys be drunk in their thirst,
- 12 that upon them the bird of the air should dwell,
from among the foliage should give voice.
- 13 Irrigator of mountains from his chambers:
that from the fruit of your works the earth
should be satisfied.
- תָּהוּם כְּלָבוּשׁ (12) כִּסִּיתוּ 6
עַל הָרִים יַעֲמְדוּ מַיִם
מִן גְּעָרְתְּךָ יִנּוּסוּן 7
מִן קוֹל רַעֲמֶךָ יִחְפּוּזוּן
יַעֲלוּ הָרִים יִרְדּוּ בְּקַעֲוֹת 8
אֶל מְקוֹם זֶה יִסְדָּתָה לָּהֶם
גְּבוּל שְׂמֵת בַּל יַעֲבְרוּן 9
בַּל יָשׁוּבוּן לְכַסּוֹת הָאָרֶץ
מִשְׁלַח מַעְיָנִים בְּנַחְלִים 10
בֵּין הַהָרִים יִהְיוּ
יִשְׁקוּ חַיִּים אֶת הָאָרֶץ?? 11
יִשְׁכִּירוּ פָּרָאִים צִמָּאִם
עֲלֵיהֶם עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׁכּוּן 12
מִבֶּן פִּאִים יִתְּנוּ קוֹל
מִשְׁכֵּי הָרִים מַעְלִיתוֹ 13
מִפְּרִי מַעֲשֶׂיךָ תִּשְׂבַּע הָאָרֶץ

Structure, Language, and Time in Psalm 104:1–13

The shape (14) of a psalm is not always clear cut, nor is it always crucial. In the case of Ps 104:1–13, however, the poetic shape is both clear and important. The form and content of these verses align to indicate three main paragraphs (or *sections*—the term itself is irrelevant) in vv. 1b–5, (15) 6–9, and 10–13. The first paragraph is discernable

(12) The Septuagint's τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ reflects כִּסִּיתוּ: “the deep ... is his [=God's] clothing” (NETS). 4QPsalms^d is more likely to agree with L here: there is no pattern of agreement between 4QPsalms^d and the Septuagint against L, and the metaphor of God wearing [a body of] water is peculiar and unexpected. The form כִּסִּיתוּ—especially the masculine pronoun where feminine might be expected in reference to אֶרֶץ, “earth”—may have been difficult in context for a scribe or the translator of the Septuagint, as indeed it is for some modern scholars who emend the text here.

(13) To be clear, this is the simple past tense “set,” not present tense “set”; the English is ambiguous.

(14) By “shape” I mean something like “structure.” I avoid the latter term because it can be overly reductionistic. Each psalm has an overall form and its words and lines go somewhere; these elements, however, are not always rigid and well-defined, with each smaller unit belonging exclusively to a larger, containing unit. The shape of a psalm is often something more organic. Cf. Meir Weiss, *The Bible from Within: The Method of Total Interpretation* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984), 272–73: “structure” is synonymous with “organic form,” both being “the overall organization of the whole work together with the diverse and intricate interrelationships among the whole and its parts.”

(15) Verse 1a opens the entire psalm and does not belong specifically to the first paragraph.

primarily in its repeated use of nominal participles—seven times in total—establishing a formal trope that will be echoed in later verses (e.g., vv. 10 and 13). (16) The second and third paragraphs employ mostly *yiqtol* verbs (on which see below). These two paragraphs are discernable in how they use non-*yiqtol* verbs: the second paragraph bookends the *yiqtol*s with *qatal* verbs, (17) while the third bookends the *yiqtol*s with nominal participles.

6a “you covered it” (*qatal* [כָּסִיתוּ] 18) ... 9a “you set” (*qatal* שָׁמַתָּ)
 10a “unleasher” (participle מְשַׁלֵּחַ) ... 13a “irrigator” (participle מְשַׁקֵּי)

The first paragraph describes God and his actions, but without a clear temporal frame. Neither the stative *qatal* גָּדַלְתָּ of v. 1b nor the *yiqtol* תִּלְבַּשׁ of v. 1c establishes the psalm as speaking of the past or present. תִּלְבַּשׁ could be read as habitual “you wear,” past-tense “you wore,” future “you will wear,” or deontic “may you wear.” (19) The first option—habitual—works best in parallel to גָּדַלְתָּ and in the context of vv. 2–5 following, (20) but there is ambiguity. The remainder of the paragraph in vv. 2–5 uses nominal participles that suggest habitual action—God *does* these actions—but again without clear temporality. (21) Was he “establisher of the earth” at some point in the past? Is he “establisher of the earth” in the present because this is what God

(16) Cf. Hermann Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 6th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 447.

(17) The *yiqtol* verbs following the *qatal* verb in 9a and the participle in 13a do not mitigate this bookending—they are, in fact, required for the *qatal* and the participle to function as basis actions with result/contingent actions (see below).

(18) See footnote 12 above. 4QPsalms^d is not extant at this point, and if we were to reconstruct a noun here with the Septuagint, instead of a verb with L, the first paragraph would not contain a *qatal* verb at the start. As I note above, I think it is unlikely that 4QPsalms^d agreed with the Septuagint here; my reading of the shape of the text, moreover, supports the reconstruction of כָּסִיתוּ—it is internally consistent with the literary features of the text.

(19) John Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew*, LSAWS 7 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 217–23, 244–49, 265–68; on the use of *yiqtol* for past tense in both early and late poetry, see Yigal Bloch, “The Prefixed Perfective and the Dating of Early Hebrew Poetry—A Re-evaluation,” *VT* 59 (2009): 34–70.

(20) There is a lacuna in 4QPs^d where גָּדַלְתָּ appears in L, making it possible that the text had *yiqtol* תִּגְדַּל (cf. Pss 35:27; 40:16; 70:4). I read L’s גָּדַלְתָּ as expressing a state of being—God has been and continues to be “great”; a past tense reading, “you have become great,” is also possible. If 4QPsalms^d had תִּגְדַּל, my reading would be similar: תִּגְדַּל would express a state of being in the present, and my overall reading of Ps 104 would be the same.

(21) On participles and tense-aspect-mood, see Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 223–33.

once did? Or is he “establisher of the earth” in the sense that he habitually establishes the earth, i.e. regularly, in the present? The text is not clear on this point, and the reader is left to answer (or assume the answer to) the question. Whether or not this is by design (intentionally devised by the author/s), the effect is impactful (see below).

The temporal frames in the second and third paragraphs are clearer. The *yiqtols* of the second and third paragraph are “subjunctive.” (22) They communicate actions that are contingent on preceding actions. (23) In v. 6, for example: “With the deep, like clothing, you covered it (כִּסִּיתוּ), so that the waters should stand (יַעֲמִדוּ) on mountains.” All of the *yiqtols* in the second paragraph, then, are in past tense, given their contingency on the *qatals* that precede them (כִּסִּיתוּ precedes the majority, שָׁמַת precedes two more *yiqtols* in v. 9). Given the content of this paragraph, we clearly have here a description of the creation of the world at some point in the past: (24) YHWH tamed the waters and put them in their various places. (25)

The *yiqtols* in the third paragraph are contingent on nominal participles: “unleasher (מְשַׁלַּח) of springs in the wadis, so that they should go (יֵהַלְכוּ) between the mountains” (v. 10). Verse 10’s מְשַׁלַּח (“unleasher”) serves as the basis for most of the paragraph’s *yiqtols*, while v. 13’s תִּשְׂבַּע (“that it should be satisfied”) is contingent on מְשַׁקִּי (“irrigator

(22) Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms 101–150* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 38; cf. John Goldingay, *Psalms, Volume 3: Psalms 90–150*, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 186.

(23) Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 244.

(24) As Berlin notes, though it is possible to identify a “creation motif” in ancient Near Eastern texts and the Bible, there is no singular or correct version of the motif by which others can/should be measured; Adele Berlin, “Motif and Creativity in Biblical Poetry,” *Prooftexts* 3 (1983): 232.

(25) This manner of describing creation appears also in other psalms—see, e.g., Pss 24, 65, 74, 89—and bears many affinities with descriptions of the storm god, especially in Ugaritic literature; cf., Peter C. Craigie, “The Comparison of Hebrew Poetry: Psalm 104 in the Light of Egyptian and Ugaritic Poetry,” *Semitics* 4 (1974): 10–21; John Day, *God’s Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, UCOP 35 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 28–35; Paul E. Dion, “YHWH as Storm-god and Sun-god: The Double Legacy of Egypt and Canaan as Reflected in Psalm 104,” *ZAW* 103 (1991): 48–58. It is important to note, however, that Baal’s conflict with Yam is not a description of creation; cf. Day, *God’s Conflict*, 7–18; Dion, “YHWH as Storm-god and Sun-god,” 53–54; Edward L. Greenstein, review of Robert Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, *Review of Biblical Literature* [http://www.bookreviews.org] (2020). Ps 104 is also rightly compared to the Hymn to Aten, though the relationship of the two texts is not in view here; the majority of the parallels, in any case, are found in the latter half of Ps 104. For a judicious overview, see Jon D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 59–65.

of”) in the same verse. Two aspects of this paragraph point to a shift in tense from past (in paragraph two) to present (in paragraph three). First, the participles, hearkening back to the first paragraph, are clearly contrasted with the *qatal*s of the second paragraph. Second, the content seems to refer more naturally to the world *after* initial creation: bodies of water sustain animal life (vv. 11–12) and seasonal rains bring water regularly (vv. 10, 13). Compare, in the second paragraph, the earth being covered by water (v. 6), water going “up” mountains (v. 8), and the general sense that God is setting up a permanent place for the waters (esp. vv. 8–9). (26)

In the second and third paragraphs, then, we have God’s past activities in the world and present activities in the world set side-by-side. (27) God’s actions and the actions of creation are expressed similarly in both paragraphs; the crucial formal distinction between the two is the use of *qatal*s in paragraph two and participles in paragraph three, while the content aligns with this formal shift.

Compare how other interpreters explain the structure, shape, and temporal frameworks of Ps 104 (including the remainder of the psalm that is not treated here). For many interpreters, the psalm unfolds as something like a rewriting of Gen 1, or is at least based on Gen 1 in some way. (28) For Adele Berlin, the psalm “starts from things more distant and abstract [in vv. 1–5] ... and moves ever closer to man by depicting the natural world, first the inanimate [in vv. 6–10]—hills, valleys, rivers, springs—and then the animals and birds [vv. 11ff].” (29) For Jon

(26) The natural phenomenon of thunder (v. 7), it is admitted, occurs in the present world—though it makes sense for the psalm to refer to thunder, given its magnitude, at initial creation.

(27) Similarly, John Goldingay, *Psalms, Volume 3: Psalms 90–150* (Baker Academic, 2008), 181–82.

(28) E.g., Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, trans. Francis Bolton, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1885), 127–28; Kemper Fullerton, “The Feeling for Form in Psalm 104,” *JBL* 40 (1921): 43–56; Geoffrey W. Grogan, *Psalms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008) 173; Adele Berlin, “The Wisdom of Creation in Psalm 104,” in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 76; cf. Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101–50, revised*, WBC 21 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2002), 41–43; Mark S. Smith, *The Priestly Vision of Genesis 1* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010), 26–27. Indeed, early interpreters of the Hebrew Bible connected the two texts; cf., e.g., the way the Targums of Gen 1 use language from Ps 104: A. Shinan, “The Aramaic Targums to the Creation Story and Psalm 104,” *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 2 (1977): 228–32 [Hebrew]. The similarities between Gen 1 and Ps 104 are not, in my opinion, enough to posit any sort of direct relationship; against the idea that Ps 104 takes Gen 1 as its point of departure, see Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 58–59.

(29) Berlin, “Motif and Creativity,” 234.

Levenson, all of Ps 104 “shows nature in its present state ... [in order to illustrate] the majesty, intelligence, and generosity of the God who authored and continually sustains this fascinating panorama of natural wonders.” (30) Jeehoon Kim suggests that Ps 104 is held together, in part, by the portrayal of God as “cosmic gardener,” putting all of the actions in Ps 104 on an equal plane—he “redirects the waters, sets boundaries, plants the trees, [and] opens his hand to feed the creatures.” (31) Hans-Joachim Kraus and Leslie Allen posit loosely connected themes, with temporality playing no role in the shape of the psalm. For Kraus, vv. 1–4 are “praise of the God who is above all worlds,” vv. 5–9 treat the “conquest of the primeval flood,” vv. 10–12 are about “springs and brooks,” vv. 13–18 about “refreshment [proceeding] from Yahweh’s rains,” etc. (32) For Allen, the themes in the first half of Ps 104 are “God as king of heaven” (vv. 1–4), “creation of the earth in relation to water” (vv. 5–13), and “provision for human and animal needs” (vv. 14–18)—though these are parts of a larger, concentric structure. (33)

Only John Goldingay, to my knowledge, posits that a move from past to present helps to structure the first half of the psalm, as I have argued above. (34) Hossfeld and Zenger do not stress temporal reference, though their delineation of vv. 5–9 as “establishment of the earth through the decisive defeat of the waters” and vv. 10–18 as “preservation of creation” is close. (35) And for Paul Dion, the first paragraph (vv. 1–4) establishes “an attitude of admiration and praise,” the second paragraph (vv. 5–9) narrates God’s past actions in mythic terms, and the following paragraphs provide “a tour of YHWH’s creation.” (36)

All of these interpreters base their analysis on the text of Ps 104 contained in L—though some have finessed L’s text of Ps 104, using

(30) Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 57. Though I disagree that the psalm deals entirely with God’s creation *in the present*, Levenson articulates well how the psalm is meant to elicit praise for God by detailing the wonders of the natural world.

(31) Jeehoon Kim, “YHWH as Gardener in the Old Testament with Special Reference to Psalm 104” (MA Thesis, Trinity Western University, 2013), 121–36, quote from 125–26. On the ancient Near Eastern motif of kingship expressed through gardens and gardening, see Geo Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion: King and Saviour* (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1951); Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Eric Zenger, *Psalms 2*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 440–41; and Kim, “YHWH as Gardener,” 8–36.

(32) Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, CC (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 298.

(33) Allen, *Psalms 101–50*, 44.

(34) Goldingay, *Psalms 3*, 181–82.

(35) Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 3*, 49, 51.

(36) Dion, “YHWH as Storm-god and Sun-god,” 45–46; on the second paragraph, Dion states that “the poet enters the narrative mood” (45).

readings from the Septuagint and/or Dead Sea scrolls. None understand the paragraph divisions as I have done, based on the text in 4QPs^a, nor do they isolate the verbal forms as indicators of structure.

When we understand the *yiqtol*s as consequential actions and take the second and third paragraphs to refer to the past and the present, respectively, a natural flow and interpretation emerges from line to line and paragraph to paragraph. The first paragraph establishes the tone of the psalm as a hymn in praise of God. In the second paragraph, God's past action of covering the earth with water (v. 6a) resulted in the water standing on the mountains (v. 6b), scattering at God's rebuke (v. 7) to the places that God desired (v. 8). His action of setting up boundaries for the waters resulted in their remaining in place and not covering the earth (v. 9). In the third paragraph, God's present action of bringing water to the wadis (v. 10a) results in the water going between the mountains (v. 10b), giving sustenance to wildlife (v. 11), and nourishing habitats where animals dwell (v. 12). His action of sending rain (v. 13a) results in the entire earth being satisfied (v. 13b). God is active not only in the clauses where he is subject of the verb; he is the one who rebukes in v. 7, for example. The linguistic forms (basis verb + *yiqtol*s) and the structure they create communicates God's initiating action leading to further actions in response, yet his activity clearly permeates these latter actions as well.

Terry Eagleton warns against the mistaken view that form is always an "incarnation" of content in a poem—that "everyday language simply points to things, [but] poetic language actually embodies them." (37) In fact, though form and content are united in the *locus* of the poem, the two remain "semi-autonomous." (38) We should be careful, then, not to read into syntactic relationships; the *yiqtol*s being dependent on preceding verbs does not necessarily entail that the actions of creation are dependent on God's actions. Rather, it is the overall context that suggests this relationship between God's actions and creation's actions. The form (basis verbs and consequential *yiqtol*s) does reflect the content in this case—it is a fitting way to communicate that creation's actions depend on God's. (39) However, the poem could just as well have used other forms to communicate this.

(37) Terry Eagleton, *How to Read a Poem* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 59.

(38) On this point, I think Weiss goes too far in his emphasis on form; e.g., *Bible from Within*, 272, and see 297 for an example where form (in this case, syntax) is wrongly taken as determining meaning.

(39) Berlin makes a similar observation about the way Ps 104 conveys a sense of order and "harmony" in the world: the meanings of the words describe a harmoniously ordered world, and this is echoed "on the syntactic and rhythmic levels as well"; Berlin, "Motif and Creativity," 240. Berlin is referring in part to the poetics of v. 2, which she

Psalm 104 as Contemplative Space

Returning to the first paragraph of Ps 104, I suggest above that the temporal frame of God's actions is unspecified. A number of factors from elsewhere in Ps 104 push the attentive reader to explore some [temporal] possibilities in this opening paragraph. The first factor has to do with the way the second and third paragraphs contextualize the timing of the first. Because the first paragraph uses the same nominal participles as the third paragraph, the temporal juxtaposition of the second and third paragraphs suggests that the temporal frame in the first paragraph may be the present. I do not mean to say that the first paragraph is in the present tense in my reading; rather, in my reading the poem wants the reader to consider whether this is the case. Some of the actions described in the first paragraph fit easily in any temporal frame: God riding on the clouds (v. 3), for example, is a well-known way of describing a deity's stature and status, with the action understood as habitual in the past, present, and future.

The second factor has to do with the way the second and third paragraphs contextualize the actions of the first. The second and third paragraphs are concerned with creation—God's setting up the positions of the waters and continuing to sustain the created world in the present. Should the first paragraph be understood as referring to creation as well? Some actions—God clothing himself in light, for example—could be taken as referring to creation, while others—spreading out the heavens, setting the earth on its foundation—certainly refer to creation. The careful reader must consider whether these actions of creation are habitual actions in the present. Again, I do not mean to say that the poem reads this way according to my reading; rather, in my reading the poem pushes the reader to consider these aspects of the text. Just when did God establish the foundations of the earth? Does v. 5's participle יוֹסֵד entail that he *currently* is performing this action?

The striking language of vv. 29–30 further stokes the reader's contemplation of the question of whether God's creative actions occur in the present. (40)

has discussed previously (cf. 237)—a highly polished pairing of two lovely turns of phrase, נוֹשֵׁי שָׁמַיִם כְּרִיעָה and עֹטֵי אֹרֶךְ כְּשִׁלְמָה. The other participial phrases in vv. 2–5 are similar; I would also add the very ordered way in which initiating actions are followed by consequential *yiqtol*s across vv. 5–13.

(40) Unfortunately vv. 29–30 are not extant in 4QPsalms^d, but they were almost certainly part of the text. Here I present L's text of vv. 29b–30. L contains an additional stich, תַּסְתִּיר פְּנֶיךָ יְהוָה לִי, "you hide your face that they might be terrified"; 11QPsalms^a does not contain this stich, and it is possible that 4QPsalms^d also did not contain it; DJD XVI, 71. There are other slight differences between L, 11QPsalms^a, and the Septuagint, none of which impact the point I am making here: "your breath" instead of

תִּסְפֹּף רוּחָם יִגְוְעוּן וְאֵל עֲפָרָם יִשׁוּבוּן
תִּשְׁלַח רוּחְךָ יִבְרָאוּן וּתְחַדֵּשׁ פְּנֵי אֲדָמָה

You gather their breath that they might (41) expire,
and might return to their dust.
You send your breath that they might be created,
and you renew the face of the land.

Do these verses provide ontological statements that describe the nature of existence? (42) Do they state that the life force in each living being is provided and sustained continually by God, such that God's withholding for a moment causes them to cease existing? Probably not. It seems more likely that they describe the life-cycle of a species—the death of one individual member of the species, followed by the birth (creation) of another, such that the species does not die out. (43) Nevertheless, the concepts and language used to describe this cycle are concepts and language of creation—words like בָּרָא (“to create”) and עָפָר (“dust”) clearly activate the conceptual framework of initial acts of creation. Here, then, is another aspect of the poem that might lead the reader to reflect on the temporal frame of the activities in vv. 2–5.

In his reading of W.H. Auden's “In Memory of W.B. Yeats,” Eagleton reflects on the poem's portrayal of nature as “[sharing] our own moods and feelings,” and the way the poem's juxtaposition of the weather and Yeats's death affects the reader. (44) “The verse,” he writes, “carefully does not claim that the day was a bleak one on account of Yeats's death; it simply allows us to infer the possibility.” (45) I propose that something similar is at work in 4QPsalms^d's text of Ps 104: vv. 2–5 do not state that God creates the world in perpetuity, nor that his everyday actions of sustenance amount to creative acts. We might even say that the poem is “careful” not to say these things. What Ps 104 *does* do, however, is prompt the reader to consider these and similar possibilities, and moreover to create an arena for reflection on these

“their breath,” and conjunctions before some of the *yiqtol* verbs (“and then they expire” instead of “that they might expire,” both with consequential semantics). Regardless of the exact wording, and the presence or absence of the first stich, the concepts here could have affected a reader's interaction with vv. 2–5.

(41) Beyond vv. 1–13, the use of the *yiqtol* is not as straightforward. In these verses, the *yiqtol* form serves first as a [habitual] basis action and then as a consequential action (e.g., “you **gather** that they **might expire**”).

(42) So, e.g., Alexander MacLaren, *The Psalms: Volume III* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903), 121.

(43) Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 3, 56; Allen, *Psalms* 101–50, 48; Kraus, *Psalms* 60–150, 303.

(44) Eagleton, *How to Read*, 7–8.

(45) Eagleton, *How to Read*, 8.

possibilities—language that is crafted to allow for multiple readings through underspecificity (e.g., the nominal participles *vis à vis* time reference). The point in this reading is not what the poem wants to tell us; the point is where the text takes the reader and the space it creates to allow her to contemplate God and the world.

The opening habitual *yiqtol* “you wear” (תִּלְבֹּשׁ) in v. 1b sets a trajectory for how the nominal participles are understood: God is characterized as performing these actions. The timeframe of the actions, however, is open; he may be “stretcher of the heavens” in the sense that he did this once, or in the sense that he continues to do this. As the reader moves through the first five verses, she hears creation more and more. In vv. 6–9 that follow, the psalm clearly focuses on creation. Verse 5 comes at the crucial juncture: God is “establisher of the earth.” The poem has brought the reader here; it allows [the reader] to infer the possibility that God currently establishes the earth. (46) But it is perhaps careful not to actually say as much.

Traditions of Reflection on Creation in the Present

The reach and impact of Ps 104—and the effectiveness of its promptings as described above—can be seen in the rich history of reflection on the notion that God might continue perform acts of creation in the present.

The Hymn to the Creator, found in 11QPs^a XXVI, 9–15, can be read as thinking of God creating in the present. (47) Participles are used at several places, all indicating habitual aspect. (48) In the contexts in which they occur, present tense is implied (if not signaled by the participles themselves).

מְבַדֵּיל אֹר מְאֻפֵּלָה ... מְעַטֵּר הָרִים תְּנוּבוֹת ... בְּרוּךְ עוֹשֶׂה אֶרֶץ בְּכוֹחוֹ מְכִין
תֵּבֵל בְּחֹקְמָתוֹ

[He] divides light from darkness ... crowns mountains with produce ...
Blessed is [the one who] makes the earth in his strength, [who] establishes
the world in his wisdom.

(46) In a subsequent publication, I will argue that there is text-critical evidence for this potential inference, specifically, that some early readers did take the text of Ps 104:5 as implying that God is currently establishing the earth.

(47) See James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*, DJDJ IV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 89–91.

(48) On the tense-aspect-mood of participles in this period of Hebrew, see John A. Cook, “The Verb in Qohelet,” in *The Words of the Wise Are Like Goats: Engaging Qohelet in the 21st Century*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Tremper Longman, III, and Cristian G. Rata (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 309–42; idem., *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 233.

The text's language and imagery also recall Ps 104 at several places. See, for example, the phrases בְּחֹכְמָתוֹ ("in his wisdom") in line 14 (cf. Ps 104:24), (49) הֶמּוֹן מֵיִם רַבִּים ("tumult of many waters") in line 10 (cf. Ps 104:6–9), מַעֲטֵר הָרִים תְּנוּבוֹת אוֹכֵל טוֹב לְכֹל חַי ("crowning the mountains with produce, good food for all creatures") in line 13 (cf. Ps 104:10–18), and נָטָה שָׁמַיִם ("he stretched out the heavens") in line 14 (cf. Ps 104:2). Though the Hymn to the Creator does not have Ps 104 as its primary intertext, (50) the themes and language of Ps 104, including its suggestive promptings about creation in the present, reverberate through the text.

The Hymn to the Creator is a predecessor to later Jewish liturgy, (51) where we find similar ways of thinking about God's continued acts of creation. The Birkat Yotzer Or blesses God for the creation, in the present, of light and darkness, using creation language drawn from Isa 45:7 in participle phrases reminiscent of Ps 104:

יוֹצֵר אוֹר וּבוֹרֵא חֹשֶׁךְ עֹשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם וּבוֹרֵא אֶת הַכֹּל

[You] form light and create darkness, [you] make peace and create all.

The Shacharit is even clearer in temporal reference in its blessing of God:

מִחֲדָשׁ בְּטוֹבוֹ כֹּל יוֹם תָּמִיד מַעֲשֶׂה בְּרֵאשִׁית

Every day, continually, he renews the act of creation with his goodness.

The doctrine of *creatio continua* features in the intellectual history of Christianity—Eastern and Western, Orthodox, Catholic, and

(49) Cf. Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, VTSup 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 259; on wisdom in Ps 104, see Berlin, "Wisdom of Creation."

(50) Jeremiah 10:12–13 (par. Jer 51:15–16), for example, features more prominently. See James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*, DJDJ IV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 89–91; Moshe Weinfeld, "The Angelic Song over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman, STDJ 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 135–57; and Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 257–60.

(51) The Hymn to the Creator may or may not be directly connected to later liturgy; see Moshe Weinfeld, "Traces of *Kedushat Yozer* and *Pesukei De-Zimra* in the Qumran Literature and Ben-Sira," *Tarbiz* 45 (1975–1976): 15–26 [Hebrew]; idem, "Angelic Song"; Esther G. Chazon, "Shifting Perspectives on Liturgy at Qumran and in Second Temple Judaism," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold, VTSup 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 513–31. At the very least, the Hymn to the Creator anticipates later liturgy.

Protestant. (52) Methodius, for example, using language permeated with Scripture and parallel in many ways to Jewish liturgy, writes that

even now He is still creating by His omnipotent will and inscrutable power: the earth still yields its fruit, the waters still gather together into their receptacles, light is still being divided from darkness, the number of men is still growing through creation, [and] the sun still rises to rule over the day and the moon over the night. (53)

In both Judaism and Christianity, then, Psalm 104 stands near the start of a long line of devotion and thinking involving God's creative activities in the present.

Conclusion

Concerning the continued scholarly debate about Ps 82, Brent Strawn notes that

this on-going interpretive conversation is actually exactly as it should be. That is because the poetic nature of Psalm 82 *qua* poetry opens up and invites, suggests and evokes, welcomes and includes multiple interpretations simultaneously, even if those same characteristics sometimes create a certain amount of tension in readers. And yet, despite any and all readerly consternation, such is the gift of poetry. The Psalms in general, and Psalm 82 specifically, must not be short-changed that gift. (54)

Though he refers to Ps 82 specifically, Strawn's observation is meant to apply to all psalms. I offer my reading of Ps 104 as another entry in the "on-going interpretive conversation" of Ps 104. It is certainly not the only way to read Ps 104. It is, however, the first reading (to my knowledge) that focuses entirely on an instantiation of the text other than the one found in L. Though L also provides a text that can and should be read, it's hegemony over interpretive endeavors is neither necessary nor desirable. And though the resulting differences from reading

(52) Notable figures arguing that God performs creative acts in the present include Basil, Augustine, Palamas, Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, and Edwards. Cf. Christian Link, "Creatio continua," in *Religion Past and Present*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2011). For an example in modern [academic] Christian theology, see, e.g., Christoph Schwöbel, "God, Creation and the Christian Community: The Dogmatic Basis of a Christian Ethic of Createdness," in *The Doctrine of Creation*, ed. Colin Gunton (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 149–76.

(53) *The Symposium: A Treatise on Charity*, trans. Herbert Musurillo (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1958), 132–33.

(54) Brent A. Strawn, "The Poetics of Psalm 82: Three Critical Notes along with a Plea for the Poetic," *RB* 121 (2014): 42–43.

a different artifact's text may be slight, my reading of Ps 104 from the text in 4QPsalms^d—a real text from Jewish antiquity—is not the likeliest reading to arise from the text in L. (55)

I have read Ps 104 as evoking certain possibilities about God and creation for the reader to consider. I suggest that the psalm leads the reader to a certain mental space, a contemplative location where the following questions can be explored: Did God engage in creational activity after the seventh day? Did all of that happen only once, in the past, or does he still create today?

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(55) This should be evident from comparison with other interpretations of Ps 104 based on L's text; I also will demonstrate the point in a forthcoming publication. Some notable differences in L that change the reading of Ps 104 include *qatal* לְבַשָּׁתָּהּ ("you wore") in v. 1, the free participles עֹטֶה ("he wraps"), נוֹטֶה ("he stretches") and עֹשֶׂה ("he makes") in vv. 2–4, and *qatal* יָסַד ("he established") in v. 5.

4Q263 (4QS^I): HAND, TEXT, ANOTHER FRAGMENT

VERY little has been preserved of 4Q263 (4QS^I), one of the Qumran Cave 4 witnesses to the Rule of the Community. (1) The edition consists of one fragment (4Q263 frag. 1) that has been constructed by joining together three small pieces. (2) This fragment has a small section of five lines corresponding to the text of 1QS 5:26–6:4 and 4Q258 2:5–8. The editors describe the hand as small and regular in an early Herodian formal script. (3) However, the script is far from regular, and only formal in the sense that it is not cursive. The scribe apparently used an implement that had to be re-inked after every three or four words. This small fragment displays both thick letters immediately after the re-inking, and a few words later very thin strokes when the pen ran out of ink. (4) There is variability in the forms of the letters, as can be seen in figure 1 below. (5) The *bet* in line 5 בת[כנו] has a straight headstroke and its basestroke does not extend to the right of the downstroke, in contrast to the *bets* in lines 1 and 2. The *yod* in יבא inclines forward, while the *yod* in line 2 יתהל[כו] stands straight (and similar differences are found in *waw*). The height, width, and size

(1) Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 26 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 197–200, Plate XXI (henceforth: DJD 26). Recent fragment images of 4Q263 can be found on <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-360250> (color), and <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-360251> (infrared). The color image shows where the fragment has lost its surface at the right edge.

(2) On PAM photographs 41.679 and 42.380 only the largest piece was photographed. On PAM 43.267 the three pieces are joined together.

(3) DJD 26:197.

(4) Comparable differences between thick and thin strokes due to inking are found in 4Q221 and 4Q266.

(5) The tracing of the letter-forms from the photographs in DJD 26:23 does not display all the details of the letters.

of the hook of *lamed* differ throughout in this fragment. Such variability becomes problematic where letters are only in part preserved and the context is uncertain. Thus, several scholars have read the first, incomplete traces of line 5 as the *šin* of אִישׁ, (6) the word that one expected on the basis of the parallel texts of 1QS and 4Q258, in spite of the strange triangular form of the combined traces. (7) Rather, it is palaeographically easier to read the remaining traces as *he* and final *nun* of כִּהֵן, (8) even though it implies a variant reading.

Among the hitherto unidentified Cave 4 fragments, one small piece, PAM 43.673 frag. 9 (9) (in the IAA reference system: Plate 75, Frag. 1 (10)) with only a few completely preserved letters, appears to match textually, materially, and palaeographically with 4Q263 frag. 1. In the second line of this unidentified fragment one may, without any problems, read]רֹשׁ לִשְׁתָּ[, which would allow for the phrase הַתִּירוֹשׁ לִשְׁתוֹת, attested in 1QS 6:4–5. On the assumption that the text corresponds to that of 1QS, one may read in the first line]כֵּן [שׁ]אֵלָּן[, but only the very bottom of *yod*, *lamed*, and *waw* remains, and the utmost left of the base of *kap*. There seems to be not enough space for a *šin*, but there is a tear in the fragment, and the color image on The Leon

(6) Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63; Alexander and Vermes in DJD 26:199; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 542; Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2010), 221.

(7) If this letter were to be read as *šin*, then one must assume that its right arm and left downstroke were written fairly close to one another, and that the middle stroke, written horizontally, as in line 4 שֵׁם, was extended and formed a bar which joined the right arm and left downstroke. If reflecting one letter, then the triangular form might rather suggest *samek*, which, however, cannot be explained textually.

(8) Proposal by Émile Puech, in his review of the original submission of this note. One would have to assume a nonformal *he* of which the left leg is written diagonally and joins the right leg at the crossbar. The stroke above the crossbar, which seems to be part of the same diagonal leg of the assumed *he*, could in fact be the top of the right leg, rather than the left leg breaking through the crossbar. This is different from the other samples of *he* in the fragment, but variability of letters is common in this manuscript. For an example of such a *he*, see the second *he* in 4Q394 frags. 8–10 line 6 טַהֲרָה, in a manuscript with a large variability of forms of *he*. Cf. Strugnell's palaeographic description of *he* in 4Q394 in Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 10 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 4.

(9) Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 33 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), Plate XIV; <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285452> (top row, second from left).

(10) Plate 75: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-497949>. Infrared image of the fragment: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-487300>.

Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library shows that the part to the right of the tear somewhat overlaps the left part. (11) If one would readjust the two parts there would be enough space for *šin*.

Palaeographically, the few preserved letters and strokes in the fragment do not match the hand of any of the Cave 4 Rule of the Community manuscripts, except that of 4Q263. While the first preserved *šin*, of תי[רוש], does not at all correspond to the *šins* of 4Q263 frag. 1, the second preserved *šin*, of לשת[ות], closely corresponds to those in 4Q263 frag. 1 (see below figure 1). The *lamed* of לשת[ות] is close to that of frag. 1 line 2 לפני and the first *lamed* of frag. 1 line 3 לגדול. The head-stroke and tick of *reš* of תי[רוש] matches that of *reš* of 4Q263 frag. 1 line 4 אשר, and the strangely slanting *waw* has a similar slant as *yod* in 4Q263 frag. 1 line 1. Even more telling, in this small fragment we see the same alternation of thin strokes, as in תי[רוש], and then, after re-inking, the thick strokes of לשת[ות]. A comparison of the available color photographs shows that 4Q263 frag. 1 and this fragment are light brown, but have large very dark brown parts.

The newly identified fragment (4Q263 frag. 2) does not join physically to 4Q263 frag. 1, but should be placed close to it, with its first line contiguous to 4Q263 frag. 1 line 5. Due to the irregularity of the writing, the horizontal placement of the fragments in the lines is not certain, but the DJD editors' placement of frag. 1 very close to the right margin is impossible. (12) One may read 4Q263 frags. 1–2, with the lacunae restored on the basis of 4Q258, as follows:

- 1 [או בקנאת רש]ע [וגם] אל יבא[איש על רעהו דבר לרבים]
- 2 [אשר לא בהו]כח לפני עדים ובאלה יתהלכו בכל מגוריהם כל הנמצא
- 3 [את רעהו וישמ]ע הקטן לגדול למלכאה ולה[ון יחד יאכלו יחד יברכו ויחד]
- 4 [יועצו ובכל]מ[ק]ום אשר יהיה שם[עשרה אנשים מעצת היחד אל ימש]
- 5 [מאתם כו]הן בת[כוננו ישבו לפניו]כן[ש]אלו[לעצתם לכל דבר והיה]
- 6 [כי יערכו השלחן לאכול או התי]רוש לשת[ות]

Textually, the remnants of the four words on 4Q263 frag. 2, which do not include variants or errors, do not contribute anything new to our knowledge of the text. The fragment does supply new evidence in two other respects.

First, this fragment provides more evidence on the scribal practice of 4Q263, including the entirely different form of *šin* of התירוש, demonstrating how the scribe alternated between formal and nonformal

(11) Full spectrum color image: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-487299>.

(12) I am adopting, with minute changes, an alternative horizontal placement suggested by Puech.

forms of the letters. The poor inking of the writing, the variability of letter forms, and the spelling error in line 3 למלאכה, (13) all signal a scribe who was not primarily concerned with the neat and correct appearance of their writing.

Second, in 4Q263 frag. 1 nine variants are preserved, including a clear spelling error מלאכה for מלאכה (see appendix). In five cases these agree with 4Q258 against 1QS, but in no cases with 1QS against 4Q258. Nonetheless, the editors restored in the lacunae of each line the longer text of 1QS against the shorter of 4Q258. (14) Yet, the length of the restored text of lines 5 to 6, as indicated by the new fragment, suggests that one should prefer in lines 1–4 the shorter restorations on the basis of 4Q258. (15) The existing evidence indicates that the scribe's *Vorlage* was textually close to 4Q258, and that some of the scribe's unique variants may be copying errors. (16)

Appendix: Variants

lines	4Q263	4Q258	1QS
1	רשע וגם vac	רשע וגם	רשע ואל ישנאהו [בעור]ל[ת] ללבבו כיא ביום יוכיחנו ולוא ישא עליו עוון וגם
1	יבא	יבא	יביא
2	בהו]כח	בהוכח	בתוכחת
2	ובאלה	ובאלה	באלה
3	וישמע	ויש'מע/ויש'מעו	וישמעו
3	למלאכה	למלאכה	למלאכה
3	ולה[ין]	ולה[ין]	ולממון
5	כו[ה]ן	כו[ה]ן ואי'ש	כוהן ואיש
5	בת[כונו]	כתכונו	כתכונו

(13) See Elisha Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben-Zvi, 2018), 82 (A 4.3.2).

(14) The lists given in DJD 26:198 are not complete.

(15) See also James Nati, *Textual Criticism and the Ontology of Literature in Early Judaism: An Analysis of the Serekh ha-Yahad*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale Divinity School 2019, 35 n. 112, arguing for restoration of the lacunae according to 4Q258, rather than 1QS.

(16) Thanks are due to Gemma Hayes and Drew Longacre (both University of Groningen) for their feedback on a first draft, and to the journal's reviewer, Émile Puech, for his suggestions on the reading of 4Q263 frag. 1. The author is also a research associate of the University of Pretoria.

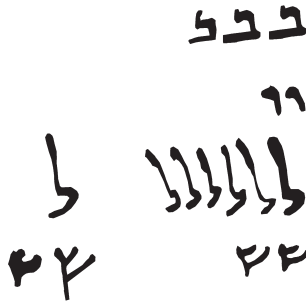


Figure 1: Letter Samples 4Q263 (right frag. 1; left frag. 2)



Figure 2: he from 4Q394 8–10 line 6

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FRAGMENTS OF 4QISA^E (4Q59) AND 4QISA^F (4Q60)

THE purpose of this short note is first to add to the editions of 4Q59 and 4Q60, two Qumran Cave 4 Isaiah manuscripts, fragments which have not been included in the edition; second to discuss the association of some of the published fragments to these manuscripts; third to signal some implications of the new fragments.

1. 4Q59 (4QIsa^e)

The editor of 4Q59, Eugene Ulrich, presented as one manuscript two groups of fragments (frags. 1–24) which Patrick Skehan originally had assigned to two different manuscripts, as well as one other fragment (frag. 25) whose association with 4Q59 Ulrich himself labels as questionable. (1) We do not know why Skehan originally distinguished two different groups of fragments, or how exactly he separated these. (2) There is some variability in the script, spacing, and physical aspects, but these do not necessarily warrant Skehan's original differentiation. Perhaps Skehan already recognized the problem of the reconstruction of the columns if all fragments came from one manuscript (see 1.3). For practical reasons, I adopt Ulrich's grouping of the fragments, with the exception of frags. 17 and 25 (see 1.2). The IAA Plate 262 contains

(1) Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 15 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 89–97. Henceforth: DJD 15.

(2) Patrick Skehan's two groupings can be deduced from his list of biblical passages and their assignment to manuscripts in Skehan, "Qumrân: IV. Littérature: A. Textes bibliques," *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 9.51 (1978), cols. 811–12, and from the arrangement of the fragments on the IAA Plate 262. According to the list, Skehan assigned frags. 4–15 (not 4–16 as stated in DJD 15:89) to a group he called 4QIsa^e, and frags. 1–3 and 16–24 to a group he called 4QIsa^f. The first group of fragments (with the exception of frag. 10) is arranged on the top half of Plate 262; the second arranged on the bottom half of Plate 262.

4Q59 frags. 1–25, 4Q60 frag. 7, as well as three unpublished 4Q59 fragments which will be identified in this note (see 1.1). (3)

1.1. *New Fragments to be Added to 4Q59*

(1) IAA Plate 262 frag. 27. The fragment was juxtaposed to 4Q59 frags. 18, 20, and 22 at the top of PAM 43.291, (4) and subsequently placed at the bottom of IAA Plate 262. Its first line may be read]לממלכת האליל[and tentatively identified with Isa 10:10. The fragment thus fits in 4Q59 frags. 7 ii, 11–16 i lines 11–12, at the end of which one may place frag. 16 i. (5) One may transcribe these lines as follows:

11 [לא כדמשק שמ]רן¹⁰ כאש[ר מצאה ידי למ]מלכות ה[אליל ופסיליהם מירושלים ומשמ]רן
12 [הלווא כאשר עשיתי לשמרן ולאיליה כן אע]ש[ה לירושלים ולעצביה¹² והיה כי יבצע אדני]

(2) PAM 43.688 frag. 76 (6) should be joined to the right side of 4Q59 frag. 21 in lines 7–9. It provides five additional letters to 4Q59 frags. 20–22 line 8, the descender of *qop* (and perhaps a minute trace of final *mem*) in line 7, and the mast of *lamed* in line 9. I transcribe lines 7–9 (Isa 14:9–13) as follows: (7)

7 רגזה לך לקראת [בואך עורר לך רפאים כל עתודי ארץ ה[ק[ר]ם] [מכסאֹתם כל מלכי גוים
יֵעֲנוּ¹⁰
8 [ויאמרו א]ל[ך גם אתה חלית כמונו אלינו נמשלת¹¹ הורד [שאלו נאונך ה]מ[ר]ת נבלת[ך] תחתך
יִצְעִי⁹
9 [רמה ומכסיך תולעה¹² איך נפלת משמים הילל בן שחר נגדעת [ל[ארץ] חולש [ע]ל [ג]וֹם
וּאִתָּה [אמרת]¹³

(3–4) IAA Plate 359 (unnumbered bottom-center fragment) (8) and IAA Plate 262 frag. 25 contain parts of Isa 14:17–20, and should

(3) Unfortunately, neither the available new photograph of Plate 262 nor the fragment images of the individual fragments on this Plate, have been uploaded to the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. I gained access to these photographs through the University of Groningen ERC project “The Hands That Wrote the Bible.”

(4) For the online image of PAM 43.291 see: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284329>. See also PAM 42.761 (top left section): <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284725>.

(5) Also suggested in DJD 15:94 in the note to frag. 16, but not included in the transcription of frags. 7 ii, 11–16 i.

(6) Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4, XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 33 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 207, Pl. XXVII. The most recent photographs are: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-493026> and <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-493027>.

(7) The new photographs allow one to improve on the readings. All transcriptions in this note are mine and at places differ from the DJD 15 transcription.

(8) First identified by Eibert Tigchelaar, “Notes on 4Q206/206a, 4Q203–4Q204, and Two Unpublished Fragments (4Q59?),” *Meghillot. Studies in the Dead Sea*

therefore be placed in between 4Q59 frags. 20–22 (Isa 14:1–13) and frags. 18 ii, 23–24 (Isa 14:20–24). One may transcribe these two fragments as follows

- 1 [האיש מרגיו הארץ מרעיש ממלכות¹⁷ שם תבל כמדבר ועריו ה]אס אט יריו לא פתח]
- 2 [ביתה¹⁸ כל מלכי גוים כלם שכבו בכבוד איש בביתו¹⁹ ואתה ה]שלכת מקברך [כ]צנר נתעב
- 3 [לבוש הרגים מטעני חרב יורדי אל אבני בור כפגז מובס²⁰ ל]א תחד [א]תם בקבורה כין]

(5–6) The tiny piece IAA Plate 262 frag. 29 originally was part of 4Q59 frag. 23 (see PAM 43.291), but is not included in the DJD edition. The piece only has two traces which plausibly are the tops of the two *lameds* of לבבל. PAM 43.692 frag. 58 joins to 4Q59 frag. 24, providing the upper part of the letters תקום, and in addition the two following letters לש. The uninscribed top part of PAM 43.692 frag. 58 gives evidence of a *vacat* in line 3, apparently corresponding to the Masoretic *petucha* between Isa 14:23 and 24. With the evidence of these two additional fragments, one may transcribe 4Q59 frags. 18 ii, 23–24 (Isa 14:21–25) as follows:

- 1 [ארצך שחת עמך הרגת לא יקרא לעולם זרע מרעים²¹ הכינו לבניו מטבח בעון אבותם]
- 2 בל יק[מו וירשו ארץ ומלאו פני תבל ערים²² וקמתי עליהם נאם יהוה צבאות והכרתי]
- 3 ל[ב]ל[ב] שם ושאר ונין ונכד נאם יהוה²³ ושמתי למורש קפד ואנמי מים וטאטאמיה]
- 4 במטאטא[השמד נאם יהוה צבאות vac [] vac []]
- 5²⁴ [נ]שבע²⁵ [הוה צבאות לאמר אם לא כאשר דמיתי כן היתה וכאשר [י]עצתי היא תקום²⁵ לש[בר]
- 6]ooo[]

Compared to the restored lines 2 and 3, the restored line 5 seems too long, and one might assume a scribal error or textual variant.

1.2. Non-4Q59 Fragments

(1) 4Q59 frag. 17 has been mistakenly associated with 4Q59 and should instead be grouped with 4Q60. The editor's arrangement of frags. 17, 18 i, 19 in one column is impossible, since the restoration of the lines of frags. 17 results in 52 letter-spaces per line, but that of frags. 18 i and 19 in 76 per line. However, more importantly, the script of frag. 17 clearly differs from that of 4Q59 and is identical to that of 4Q60. In the figure, I present four characteristic letter-forms of 4Q59 frag. 17 as example, compared to the corresponding letter-forms as

Scrolls 5–6 (2008): *187–99 at 198–99. Included as 4Q59 frag. 26 in Donald W. Parry and Andrew C. Skinner, “4Q59”, in *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library Biblical Texts*, Donald W. Parry and Andrew C. Skinner. Consulted online on 18 August 2019 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9383_dsselbt_DSS_EL_BT_4Q59>, without reference to an earlier publication. The best image is on PAM 43.204 (<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284652>).

1.3. *The Problem of Reconstructing the Columns*

When successive restored lines have more or less the same length, with one outlier, it is plausible to assume an error or variant in that line. However, the transcriptions offered above show that, taken as a block of lines, the restored lines with the text of Isa 14:17–25 (average 69 letter-spaces per line) are noticeably shorter than the restored ones of Isa 14:1–13 (average 76 letter-spaces per line). This raises the question whether indeed, as proposed by the editor, frags. 20–22 (Isa 14:1–13) and frags. 18 ii, 23–24 (Isa 14:20–24) derived from the same column. Also frags. 18 i 1, 19 lines 7–8 have an average of 76 letter-spaces per line; it therefore seems more likely that there was one column with frags. 18 i, 19 near to the top and frags. 20–22 near to the bottom of one column, and frags. 18 ii, 23–24 near to the top of following column.

That assumption, however, conflicts with Ulrich's calculations of ca. 35 lines per column. If frags. 7 ii, 11–16 i started at the beginning of a column, and frag. 16 is to be placed at lines 10–11 of its columns, then frag. 16 ii (Isa 11:14–15) is at lines 10–11, and frags. 18–19 (Isa 12:5–13:4) at lines 16–19 of that same column, and frags. 20–22 (Isa 14:1–13) would come about 16 lines later at the top of the next column (as implied in Ulrich's reconstruction) and the shorter lines of frags. 23–24 later in that same column.

One has to assume either that the scribe did start writing shorter lines in the column, or that we do not have ca. 35 lines per column for the entire 4Q59. That could be the case if indeed, despite the similarities, there were two groups of fragments.

2. 4Q60 (4QIsa^f)

2.1. *New Fragments to be Added to 4Q60*

(1) PAM 43.676 frag. 9 (11) can be joined to the upper right part of 4Q60 frag. 11, supplying the first letters of lines 1 and 2 and part of the right margin, thus confirming the editor's suggestion that frag. 11 came from the right margin.

(2) 4Q59 frag. 17 should be reassigned to 4Q60. See discussion above (1.2).

(11) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285455>, second row fourth fragment from the left. Its present location is unknown to me.

2.2. *Non-4Q60 Fragments*

The editor tentatively associated 4Q60 frag. 27 with Isa 28:16–17 on the basis of the reading of lines 2 and 3, even though the letters in lines 5 and 7 do not match the MT text of Isaiah. The new photograph (12) clearly shows that line 3 ends on יִרְיָ or אִרְיָ so that one can dismiss a connection with Isa 28:17 לִקְיָ. Moreover, the letters (see especially *qop*) do not match 4Q60. The textual remnants cannot be identified, and the fragment apparently is a remnant of an unknown non-biblical manuscript.

The editor indicated it is not certain whether frags. 31, 32, 33, and 34 belong to 4Q60. Indeed, the script of none of those four fragments corresponds to that of 4Q60. Fragments 32–34 were on some older photographs juxtaposed to 4Q60 fragments, (13) but have now been transferred to other plates. Fragment 33 was subsequently photographed on PAM 43.160 with 4Q34 frag. 9 with which it forms a distant join, (14) but presently it is not on Plate 400 with the other 4Q34 fragments. (15)

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(12) Online infrared image: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-361599>. Older PAM photographs with the fragment are PAM 41.347 and 43.024.

(13) Frag. 32 on PAM 43.024; frags. 33 and 34 on PAM 43.018.

(14) See Eibert Tigchelaar, “Minuscule Qumranica,” *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 643–48, at 646 (D3).

(15) The author is also a research associate of the University of Pretoria.

PSAUME ET PRIÈRE POUR LE ROI JONATHAN (4Q448) REVISITÉS

Sommaire

La révision des restes de ce manuscrit donne un aperçu de la position d'un auteur essénien sur la situation historique judéenne au milieu du deuxième siècle av. J.-C. Jonathan Maccabée comme libérateur du peuple et bâtisseur de Jérusalem reçoit le nom de roi pour lequel prient les pieux hassidéens, renvoyant à la situation historique antérieure à sa reconnaissance comme grand-prêtre.

Summary

A new examination of the remains of this manuscript affords an insight into the Essene author's view on the historical situation in Judaea in the middle of the second century BC. As the people's liberator and Jerusalem's rebuilder, Jonathan Maccabaeus receives the name of king, for which the pious Hassidaeans pray, going back to the historical situation before his recognition as High-Priest.

LE rouleau 4Q448 (1) commence par un *Psaume* (*mzmwr-šyr*, col. A) composé en grande partie d'extraits du *Psaume apocryphe* 154. Au-dessous est disposée une *Prière* dont n'est conservé que le début avec la suscription dans la marge droite (col. B), suivie du texte un peu en retrait dans une colonne très fragmentaire (col. C). La restauration des quelques versets du *Psaume* 154 grâce à une copie retrouvée dans le manuscrit *11QP^s*^a XVIII et à une traduction syriaque complète du *Psaume* donne la largeur de la première colonne du rouleau, avec l'étroite page de garde et l'attache de la lanière de cuir. Le fragment mesure 9,5 × 17,8 cm ; en conséquence, ne sont conservés que 2,5 à 4 cm

(1) Voir E. Eshel, H. Eshel and A. Yardeni, «Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer», in *Qumran Cave 4.VI Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part I*, DJD XI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), t.

au maximum de la largeur de la colonne du *Psaume* A que les restaurations permettent d'estimer à *circa* 11,5-12 cm, et environ 3 cm de la colonne C, soit moins d'un tiers de la colonne du début de la *Prière*.

La datation paléographique de l'édition a été tributaire de l'interprétation de la *Prière* pour le roi ; le nom Jonathan pouvant désigner plusieurs personnages, l'identification dépend principalement des données paléographiques et historiques. Les auteurs l'ont, avec une très grande vraisemblance, identifié au roi Alexandre Jannée, et comme ils ne peuvent alors en faire manifestement un texte essénien, le rouleau aurait été importé à Qumrân par une nouvelle recrue. (2) Mais comment la nouvelle recrue aurait-elle pu emporter ce rouleau de prière sans se faire exclure aussitôt ? Est-il pensable qu'une telle "Prière pour le roi Jonathan", — Alexandre Jannée et son peuple —, ait été reçue et récitée dans une Communauté qui éprouve au plus haut point de la haine pour ses ennemis ? La présence d'extraits du *Psaume* 154 de composition plus ancienne ne fait, elle, pas de difficulté. Toutefois avec plus de vraisemblance, la paléographie date l'écriture cursive de 4Q448 de la deuxième moitié du 2^e s. av. J.-C., sans avoir affaire à une copie originale, compte tenu de l'addition marginale au *Psaume*, et d'une correction dans la *Prière*. Elle ne permet pas d'autre précision, seul le déchiffrement peut apporter un élément de réponse pour une approche historique. (3)

(2) Eshel, Eshel and Yardeni, *cit.*, p. 404-415, datent la copie de la première moitié du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. (p. 405), identifiant le roi à Alexandre Jannée, le seul qui ait certainement porté le titre de roi, d'où l'importance du rouleau comme référence pour dater la paléographie hébraïque. Mais au-delà du cercle vicieux où l'interprétation l'emporte sur l'écriture, la datation est-elle aussi assurée ? Est-il prouvé que le vocabulaire n'est pas qumranien et que le document est le seul incompatible avec les idées des Esséniens (p. 415) ? Un sérieux doute a déjà été émis par G. Vermes, «The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment (4Q448)», *JJS* 44 (1993) 294-300, p. 297, et par l'auteur de ces lignes. Malgré certains critiques, il n'y a aucune difficulté à attribuer la copie à une même main tant les ductus et modules varient en cursive et dimension de la première ligne à la dernière.

(3) Voir G. Vermes, *cit.*, 294-300, E. Puech, « Jonathan le Prêtre Impie et les débuts de la Communauté de Qumrân : 4QJonathan (4Q523) et 4QPsAp (4Q448) », in *Hommage à Józef T. Milik, RdQ* XVII (1996) 241-270, p. 258-63 ; si cette note grâce à l'électronique révisé bien des lectures, elle garde la même conclusion historique. Toutefois A. Lemaire, « Le Psaume 154 : Sagesse et site de Qoumrân », in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection. Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, ed. F. García Martínez, A. Steudel and E. Tigchelaar (STDJ 61; Leiden.Boston: Brill, 2006), 195-204, refuse l'identification à Jonathan Maccabée et retient Alexandre Jannée comme probable avec bien des auteurs. On a le plus grand mal à saisir l'argumentation puisque, pour Lemaire, le *Psaume* 154, 1-4.17-20 est une composition qumranienne vers 100 av. J.-C. du vivant de Jannée, qu'un autre essénien aurait complétée en deux étapes, introduisant 2 strophes de sagesse (vv. 5-8.12-15), puis vv. 9-11, (= 11QPs^a XVIII), au début de notre ère ! En effet, les vv. 4.16 et 19 ne sont pas attestés dans cette composition dite "qumrano-essénienne" de

1 - Col. A = Le Psaume, voir *Psaume 154 - 11QPs^a XVIII + syriaque* soulignés :

- ¹ <הללויה> מזמור[ר] שיר[הקשיב בקול תפלת חסידך אשר]
- ² אהבת בח[סדך הגדול הצילם מיד כל אויביהם]
-
- ³ סרות על [כל מלכים וממלכותם כזרוע עוזך]
- ⁴ []
- ⁵ ויראו מסנ[א]ך מפניך בקול גדול פארו אלוהים בקהל]
- ⁶ רבימ השמי[עו תפארתו חברו לטובים נפשותיכם]
- ⁷ ולתמימים [לפאר עליון הנה עיננו על טובים תחמול]
- ⁸ ועל מפארו י[גדל חסדו מעת רעה יציל נפשם גואל]
- ⁹ עני מיד צרים] מציל תמימים מיד רשעים נוטה]
- ¹⁰ משכנו בציון ו[יעד לנצח בירושלם]

Notes de lecture :

– Ligne 1 : Le premier mot a été ajouté dans la marge, *mzwmw[r]* est dans l’alignement de la marge de droite. La lecture *šyr* est assurée par les tracés de la partie inférieure des lettres.

– Ligne 2 : Ductus typique des *bet* et *het*, non des *kaf* - *alef* des éditeurs. (4)

Entre les lignes 2 et 3, le scribe a tracé une trait (genre de *paragraphos*) dans la marge dont la signification échappe dans ce texte fragmentaire, et il a marqué un espace correspondant à une ligne blanche après la ligne 3 (= ligne 4), *vacat* (?).

– Ligne 10 : À la cassure, tête vraisemblable de *waw* (- *yod*) touchant le départ du *nun* final, ou *waw* - *’aïn* (départ du trait), ou tête de *kaf*, non *bet* des éditeurs. (5)

Traduction :

¹ <Alléluia>. Psaume, Cantique[. Sois attentif, Yhwh, à la voix de la prière de tes fidèles/ serviteurs que]

4Q448, telle qu’on peut assez bien la restaurer aux lignes 5-10, ce qui met en doute les étapes de la composition. Mais A. Steudel, “4Q448—The Lost Beginning of MMT?”, *id.*, 247-263, étudiant les deux compositions et soupesant les deux possibilités, retient avec vraisemblance dans les deux textes l’identification du roi à Jonathan Maccabée au début de son pouvoir politique, militaire et religieux. Les parallèles linguistiques relevés s’expliquent mieux si ce sont deux compositions qumraniennes contemporaines, tout en étant distinctes l’une de l’autre.

(4) H. and E. Eshel, “4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48,20, and 4QpIs^a”, *JBL* 119 (2000) 645-659, p. 646, maintiennent toutes les lectures de l’*editio princeps* aux colonnes A-C. K. Berthelot, *In Search of the Promised Land? The Hasmonean Dynasty Between Biblical Models and Hellenistic Diplomacy*, *JAJSup* 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), p. 376, suit leurs lectures et restaurations, col. A.

(5) Suivis par E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew Writings*. Volume Three (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2014), p. 185.

² Tu as aimé dans [Ton *grand*?] a[mour. *Sauve-les de la main de leurs ennemis.*]

³ Tu as exercé le pouvoir sur [*tous les rois et leurs royaumes par ton bras puissant*(?)]

⁴ va[*cat*(?)]

⁵ aussi [tes] ennemies craindront[*devant toi. D'une voix forte magnifiez Dieu, dans une assemblée*]

⁶ nombreuse procla[mez *Sa magnificence. Unissez-vous aux bons*]

⁷ et aux parfaits [pour glorifier le Très-Haut. Voici, *Son* œil a compassion des bons,]

⁸ et sur ceux qui le glorifient Il a[ccroît Son amour. Au temps du malheur Il les sauve,]

⁹ rachetant le pauvre de la main des adversaires,[délivrant les parfaits de la main des méchants, dressant]

¹⁰ Sa demeure à Sion, et [se fixant pour toujours à Jérusalem.

Commentaire :

Il serait sans doute délicat de compléter la suscription du Psaume par [*ldwyd*, comme c'est le cas pour le *Psaume* 151A commençant aussi par *hllwyh*, mais ce ne serait pas sans quelque fondement. (6) Et il n'est pas rare que le tétragramme commence un Psaume : 15,1 ; 23,1 ; 27,1 ; 93,1 ; 97,1 ; 99,1 ; 131,1 ; 139,1 ; 141,1 ; 143,1 ; écrit en paléo-hébreu en *lIQPs^a* XVIII, il pouvait l'être ici avec des points ou un substitut. (7) Puis en relation avec la prière qui va suivre, on pourrait adopter la restauration proposée par Qimron, (8) ou encore, e.g. *hqšyb bqwl tplt hsydyk 'šr* ou *šm' qwl tplt 'bdyk 'šr*], voir Ps 66,19, etc.

Ligne 2, compléter e.g. *hgdwl*, voir 1 R 3,6, Ps 86,13, ou *l'wlm*. Puis comprendre e.g. *hšylm myd kwl 'wybyhm*, peut-être encore suivi de *ky*(?).

Le trait marginal semblerait indiquer un début de phrase (dans ce cas sans *ky*?), et demander de lire un verbe au parfait, *srwt 'l = šrwt 'l*, "tu as exercé le pouvoir sur". (9) Ensuite comme restauration possible,

(6) La lettre du patriarche Timothée I au métropolite Serge d'Élam rapporte que furent trouvés dans la montagne beaucoup de rouleaux, entre autres des livres bibliques dont plus de 200 Psaumes de David, voir O. Braun, "Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I. über biblische Studien des 9. Jahrhunderts", *Oriens Christianus* I (1901) 299-313, et R. Duval, « Une découverte de livres hébreux à Jéricho », *Revue Sémitique* 10 (1902) 174-179. De même en *lIQPsAp^a* avec les 4 Psaumes à chanter sur les possédés attribués à David, seules les suscriptions "à David" des deux derniers Psaumes sont connues, voir E. Puech, « Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme (11Q11) », in *Sapiential, Liturgical & Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, ed. D. Falk, F. García Martínez and E.M. Schuller, STDJ 35 (Leiden.Boston. Köln: Brill, 2000), 160-181. Toutefois, une référence davidique n'est pas attendue dans ce Psaume.

(7) Le tétragramme est aussi employé en *4Q379*, frgs 3 2.4 ; 14 1 ; 22 ii 5, etc., manuscrit contenant le Psaume de Josué.

(8) Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

(9) Avec les éditeurs, construction préférable à la proposition de Qimron de relier les lignes 2 et 3.

e.g. [kwl mlkym wmmklwtm bzrw' 'wzk], voir Ps 89,9, Is 62,8, annonçant l'objet de la Prière.

À la ligne 5, le mot est orthographié avec *samek* au lieu de *sin* comme dans l'*Apostrophe à Sion* — 4QPs^f, puis restaurer avec Nb 10,35. (10) Dans cette reconstruction, le *waw*, ligne 5, peut être consécutif. Pour la suite, restaurer (en souligné) ces lignes d'après le Ps 154,1.3.16b.17.18b-c.20 (rétroversion du syriaque vv. 1 et 20), en relevant la variante *hnh* 'ynw 'l pour l'espace, ligne 7, au lieu de *hnh* 'yny yhw' 'l du Ps 154,16a, et l'absence de *brwk yhw* du Psaume 154,18a d'après le syriaque au lieu de [*brkw* 't] *yhw* de l'édition.

Les restaurations des 6 dernières lignes du Psaume qu'on peut considérer comme recevables (11) permettent d'avoir un aperçu des 3 premières lignes lacunaires dont la suscription paraît conservée entièrement. Ainsi le Psaume dont la finale reprend la plupart des éléments de la fin du Ps 154 est une composition nouvelle en fonction de la Prière qui va suivre, qu'on peut considérer comme un avant-goût du thème central. Cette caractéristique devrait avoir une importance pour l'identification du roi Jonathan, d'autant que la copie de l'ensemble peut être elle aussi celle d'une même main, usant d'abord de tracés archaïsants, puis un mélange de cursive (*mem*, *reš*, *taw*) pour finir par une cursive à module réduit. (12) Dans cette nouvelle composition avec une longue série d'emprunts en suivant, l'absence de Ps 154,19 *mqlrym qrn my'qwb šwpt* 'mym myšr' 'l ne peut guère passer que pour une omission volontaire. Dieu sauve les pauvres, délivre les parfaits de son peuple des mains ennemies et s'établit pour toujours à Sion/Jérusalem, mais sans nulle mention d'un roi oint ou messie davidique comme en Ps 132,17-18. (13)

(10) H. and E. Eshel, *cit.*, p. 646-47, lisent *wyr'w msn[hryb wyz'qw bqwl gdwł ...* "They were terrified of Senna[cherib and cried out: With a loud voice ...". La restauration, possible pour le sens avec une allusion à la prière du roi Ézéchias mais bien trop longue pour la largeur de la colonne, ne change rien pour le sens. Les auteurs en restent au roi Jannée, et à une rédaction après les années -103. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 376, 380-81, l'accepte avec réserve.

(11) Sans les *waw* restaurés par J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*, DJDJ IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 64, ligne 16, lire *šr[ym] mšyl[tmym myd rš'ym mqym q]r[n] my'qwb šwpt*.

(12) Les éditeurs (Yardeni), *cit.*, p. 404-405, hésitent entre deux mains ou la même main.

(13) Voir aussi 4Q522 9 ii et 22-26 (= Ps 122) où l'auteur est enthousiaste de l'entrée à Sion, de l'installation de la tente et de la construction du temple où siègeront la dynastie davidique et le sacerdoce sadocide, voir E. Puech, « Les manuscrits de Qumrân inspirés du livre de Josué : 4Q378, 4Q379, 4Q175, 4Q522, 5Q9 et Mas1039-211 », *RdQ* 28 (2016) 45-116, p. 99-105 et 106-107. L'insistance des fragments sur le temple et le sacerdoce sadocide ainsi que sur le siège de la dynastie davidique à Jérusalem laissent supposer la profanation du lieu saint par Antiochus IV, mais aussi la séparation des pouvoirs royal et sacerdotal comme opposition critique à la pratique hasmonéenne. Pour cette attente messianique traditionnelle, voir encore Lc 1,69, et *Psaumes*

Cette omission assumée entend clairement signifier que l'auteur du *Psaume* et de la *Prière* pour le roi Jonathan qui suit s'implique certes en faveur du succès de l'entreprise du roi Jonathan de délivrer le peuple d'Israël commencée par les frères Maccabées contre Antiochus IV Épiphane, (14) mais sans pour autant être un admirateur enthousiaste du royaume hasmonéen. (15) Il est conscient que ce roi d'ascendance non davidique ne peut répondre à la promesse divine de l'attente messianique juive traditionnelle.

2 - La Prière : suscription, col. B :

עור קדש¹
 על יוחנן המלך²
 וכל קהל עם³
 ישראל⁴
 אשר בארבע⁵
 רוחות שמים⁶
 יהי שלום כלם⁷
 ועל ממלכתך⁸
 ויתברך שמך⁹

La Prière, col. C :

באהבתך אתו סוב[רו] (?) חסדיך ותרם רחמיך ותצילם¹
 ביום רע וערב מיח[לים] (?) לסליחותיך להעלות עולת יכלן²
 לקרוב להיות תמ[ים] לפניך בכל דרכיך³
 פקדם לברכה לם[ה] קשיב אוזנך לקול ׀ כי יבטחו⁴
 על שמך שנקרא ע[ל] ישראל ועל יונתן המלך כי נתת לו⁵
 ממלכה להכרית הא[ויבים] שהכניעונו והעם/המלך נלחם⁶
 נלחום מלחמת יח[ד]⁷
 לזכרון המב[טח] ב....⁸
 את[א]זר ע[ן]⁹

Notes de lecture :

B 1 : Tracé de *waw* ou de *yod* indistincts.

B 7 : *Yod* de *yhy*, préférable à *waw* des éditeurs *yhw*.

de Salomon 17,4-7, où est bien soulignée l'opposition entre le messie davidique de la promesse divine et l'usurpation hasmonéenne due au péché du peuple et à l'orgueil des imposteurs.

(14) Voir l'éloge de Judas Maccabée en -166-160, en 1 M 3, 3-9.

(15) M. Kister, «Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran», *JJS* 44 (1993) 280-290, p. 289-90, a bien noté cette omission, mais il en reste, avec les éditeurs, à un passage admiratif du royaume hasmonéen, dans ce cas sans nulle attente d'une restauration de la dynastie davidique.

B 9 : Dans l'alignement à la marge, reste de *waw*(?) partiellement gratté !

C 1 : *Waw* ou *yod* indistincts, et à la cassure jambage droit de *waw/yod*(?) à l'exclusion de *reš*, (16) voir PAM 40.619 où la haste de la lettre est mieux conservée, apparemment suivie du tracé concave et court de *bet* avec le départ de la base, *'tw/ysw/yb*].

C 2 : Lecture probable de *reš* à tête étroite et *'aïn*, et à la cassure *mem-waw/yod-hel/ḥet* (PAM 40.619).

C 3 : *Taw* avec le bas du jambage de droite et du pied bouclé, suivi d'une partie du tracé concave de *mem*, lecture assurée avec PAM 40.619. (17)

C 4 : Ajout de *lm* au-dessus des deux *he*, mais le premier *lamed* est dans la ligne.

C 5 : Tracé possible du trait concave de *'aïn* au départ de l'axe du *'alef*.

C 6 : La lecture *lhkryt* est assurée, *yod* droit entre *reš* et *taw*, *kaf* médian certain, même ductus que le précédent, non *bet* de *lhbrk* des éditeurs suivis par Qimron. Puis légère trace du jambage de *'alef* à la cassure (PAM 40.619).

C 7 : La lecture *nlḥwm* est assurée au lieu de *'l ywm* des éditeurs et Qimron, et avant la cassure, ductus du *taw*, non du *he* des éditeurs suivis par Qimron, puis *yod* ou *waw* et *hel/ḥet*, non *waw*, ou *waw-he* (Qimron, restaurant *wh[wšy 'h n']*, bien trop bref).

C 8 : La lecture *lzkrwn* est assurée (*kaf* tête et base bouclée de *kaf* final) à l'exclusion de *lywnn* des éditeurs suivis par Qimron, (18) et après un espace ou une surface arrachée, *hmb* [tête de *bet* préférable à *he* ou *qof*] sans *lamed-kaf* de *hmlk* des auteurs influencés par la lecture *ywnn*.

C 9 : La lecture *'t[']zr* avec les tracés de *'alef* (non *mem* des éditeurs ou *yod* de Qimron) puis de *zāin*, au parfait, semble certaine, enfin ductus de la tête de *'aïn* de préférence à *ḥet* sur PAM 40.619.

Traduction :

B¹Lève-toi, Ô Saint, ²pour le roi Jonathan ³et toute l'assemblée de ton peuple, ⁴Israël, ⁵qui est aux quatre ⁶vents des cieux ; ⁷qu'advienne la paix de tous !

⁸Et pour Ton royaume, ⁹{et} que Ton nom soit béni !

C¹Dans Ton amour avec lui(?) ont espéré[ré(?) Tes fidèles, et Tu leur montres tes miséricordes(?) et Tu les délivres(?)] ²au jour de malheur et, le soir, espérant(?) l'abondance de tes pardons(?), pour l'offrande de l'holocauste ils peuvent] ³approcher en étant par[faits en Ta présence en toutes Tes/leurs voies ...]

⁴traite-les en bénédiction ; < les concernant >, p[rête attentivement ton oreille à la voix de leur supplication, car ils se confient(?)] ⁵en Ton nom qui est invoqué s[ur Israël/ton peuple(?) et sur le roi Jonathan, car Tu (lui ?) as donné] ⁶un royaume pour détruire les e[nnemis qui nous ont opprimés (?) ...] ⁷guerroyant

(16) Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 186, lit *ytyr* sur la base de PAM 41.371, mais moins bien conserve que PAM 40.619.

(17) Les éditeurs, *cit.*, p. 423-24, suivis par Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 186, lisent cet ensemble comme *bet*, de tracé impossible.

(18) Avec J. Strugnell d'après Ben Zion Wacholder and M. Abegg (*Tarbiz* 60 [1991] 296-324), mais *lywnn* en B⁸ est impossible. Pour les guerres de Jonathan, voir 1 M 10,15-16, et Flavius Josèphe, *Ant.* XIII § 43.

des guerres en[semble ...] ⁸en mémorial. *La confi[ance(?) du peuple en Yhwh a donné la victoire ...]* ⁹il s'est [re]vêtu de pui[ssance (?) ...]

Commentaire :

– B 1 : On pourrait hésiter entre 'wr qdš et 'yr qdš, « Éveille/Lève-toi Ô Saint » et « Ville Sainte ». (19) Cependant l'appel à la « Prière pour le roi Jonathan » fait largement pencher pour la lecture 'wr, même si la dernière ligne du *Psaume* précédent finit avec la mention de Sion et de Jérusalem ; mais ce n'est pas le thème central du *Psaume*. En B 2, les éditeurs sont convaincus qu'est ici visé le roi Alexandre Jannée. (20) En B 7, la lecture yhy šlwm klm s'impose comme en Ps 122,7. En B 8, les éditeurs ont bien relevé que le mot mmlkh appartient à l'hébreu biblique et non à l'hébreu tardif. Enfin, en B 9, correction, waw gratté devant ybrk šmk.

En parallèle à cette suscription, il n'est pas sans intérêt de rappeler quelques lignes de 2 M 1,16-18 :

¹⁶Puisque nous sommes sur le point de célébrer la purification du temple, nous vous en écrivons. Vous ferez bien par conséquent d'en célébrer les jours. ¹⁷Le Dieu qui a sauvé tout son peuple et qui a conféré à tous l'héritage, la royauté, le sacerdoce et la sanctification, ¹⁸comme il l'avait promis par la Loi, ce Dieu, certes, nous l'espérons, aura bientôt pitié de nous et, des régions qui sont sous le ciel, il nous rassemblera dans le lieu saint, car il nous a arrachés à de grands maux et il a purifié le temple. (21)

(19) Vermes, *cit.*, p. 296, considère « 'Holy City for King Jonathan' ... preferable and even obvious ».

(20) *DJD XI, op. cit.*, p. 422, sans autre indication. E. Main, « For King Jonathan or Against? The Use of the Bible in 4Q448 », in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996*, ed. M.E. Stone and E. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden.Boston.Köln: Brill, 1998), 113-135, l'auteur comprend la Prière en B contre le roi Jonathan (Jannée), qui explique mieux sa présence à Qumrân. Interprétation adoptée par G.G. Xeravits, « From the Forefathers to the "Angry Lion." Qumran and the Hasmonaeans », in *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology. Papers of the Second International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pépa, Hungary, 9-11 June, 2005*, ed. G.G. Xeravits & J. Zsengellér, JSJS 118 (Leiden.Boston: Brill, 2007), 211-221, p. 213-17, qui en acceptant l'identification avec Jannée, refuse la nouvelle proposition de H. and E. Eshel (*cit.*) mettant en rapport les trois colonnes et trouvant dans la Prière le style *peshet*. M.G. Steinhilber, *Die Fürbitte für die Herrschenden im Alten Testament, Frühjudentum und Urchristentum*, WMANT 128 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlagsgesellschaft, 2010), p. 164-172, voit en B-C une composition qumrannienne pour le roi Jannée et pour la Communauté devant le danger grec sur le royaume de Judée ! Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 376-83, accepte les lectures des éditeurs, mais traduit avec conviction B 2 « against King Jonathan », identifié sûrement à Jannée !

(21) Traduction Bible de Jérusalem, voir Vermes, *cit.*, p. 300, qui souligne avec raison le vocabulaire correspondant : τὸ βασίλειον = ממלכה, ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν = עיר קדש בארבע רוחות שמים, même si on ne retient pas עיר קדש.

– C 1 : Le premier mot *b'hbtk* du texte de la *Prière* n'est pas sans rappeler le début du *Psaume* A 2 *'hbt bh[sd]*, ce qui appuierait la composition des deux textes par un même auteur, tout comme ensuite la copie par une même main. Le mot suivant écrit à la suite sans coupure *'tw/yw/yb[* passe pour une *crux interpretum* ; il peut difficilement être analysé, sans métathèses, comme un parfait *'itpa 'el* de *yšb*, (*'tyswb[w samek* pour *šin* ?) “ont été restau[rés]”, ou comme *'itpo 'lel* de *sbb* (*'twswb[bw]* “ont été entou[rés]”, ou de *'twswb[rw]* “se sont mis à espé[rer]”. Il est préférable de couper ainsi *'tw swb[rw hsydyk* “avec lui, ont espé[ré *tes fidèles* ?)”, le suffixe masculin renvoyant alors positivement au roi Jonathan en B 2, le verbe au singulier ou au pluriel selon que l'on restaure *'mk* “ton peuple” ou “les pauvres/parfaits/fidèles”, etc., ou encore plus difficilement *'tw swb[bym hmlk ywntn ...* “ils sont venus entou[rant le roi Jonathan ...” Puis restaurations *ad sensum* pour la largeur de la colonne maintenant connue.

– C 2 : Les éditeurs lisent *bywm w'd 'rb*, (22) toutefois la lecture *w'd* est impossible, lire au mieux *bywm r' w'rb*. Puis une lecture *myh[lym l(rwb) slyhwytyk* ou *myh[lym lhsdyk* paraît acceptable dans ce contexte, expressions bien connues des *Hymnes* de Qumrân. Compléter *e.g.* *lh'lw' w'lh yklw] lqrwb ...*, voir 4Q158 4 4.

– C 3 : À la cassure la lecture *tm[ymym* est assurée, voir déjà A 7 (et 9), peut-être à compléter *lpnyk bkl drkyk/hm* “en Ta présence en toutes Tes/leurs voies”, voir CD II 15-16 = 4Q266 2 ii 16, IQS II 2, III 3 = 4Q255 2 5, IQS III 9 = 4Q257 III 13, 4Q223-224 iii 18, etc, toutes des compositions esséniennes.

– C 4 : Le copiste a inséré une addition < *lm* > dans interligne, puis à la cassure, *h[* devrait être une forme *hif'il* de verbe, *e.g.* *h[qšyb 'znk lqwlw ky ybthw] 'l šmk*, voir Ps 10,17, etc.

– C 5 : Les suffixes au pluriel à la ligne 4 devraient renvoyer au peuple *'mk* ou à *yšr'l* cités en B 3-4, à restaurer *šnqr' 'l yšr'l* (préférable à *'mk* pour l'espace) et à compléter très probablement par *w'l ywntn hmlk ky ntt lw] mmlkh*, avec B 2. (23)

– C 6 : La lecture *mmlkh lhkryt h'[wybym* paraît entièrement recevable par les traces. Un des devoirs du roi est en effet de mener la guerre contre un ennemi et si possible de le détruire, en vainqueur. C'est le souhait de la *Prière*. Pourrait-on comprendre ensuite *e.g.* : *šhkny'wnw wh'm/hmlk lhm] nlhwm ...* “qui nous ont opprimés, et le

(22) DJD *op. cit.*, p. 424 (suivis par Qimron), et proposeraient de comprendre ensuite soit *mw'dym*, soit *mhllym*, en renvoyant aux charges des Lévites en 1 Ch 23,30, rapprochant ensuite Ex 40,32 pour la ligne 3.

(23) Les éditeurs, *cit.*, p. 424, estiment qu'avec la fin de la ligne 4 commence une prière d'action de grâces, et renvoient à Si 36,17 (ms B) et à 4Q504 1-2 ii 11-12, ajouter 11Q14 1 ii 15 et Dn 9,18. Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 186, restaure *'lyhm w'l]*, mais la suggestion est bien trop courte pour la largeur de la colonne.

peuple[le roi a combattu] guerroyant ...” Est-il fait référence aux guerres maccabéennes contre Antiochus IV ?

– C 7 : Le mot *nlḥwm* est l’infinitif absolu *nif’al* du verbe. Le lexème *mlḥmt* étant au cas construit singulier, ou au pluriel en orthographe défective, le *nomen rectum* ne pourrait guère être que *yḥ[d* “d’union/commune(s)/ensemble”, unissant toutes les forces du peuple pour combattre l’ennemi, mais noter l’absence de l’article pour *hyḥ[d*, pour “la Communauté” non encore formellement constituée. On pourrait compléter ensuite pour l’espace *e.g.* : “et ils célébr(er)ont tous la purification du sanctuaire] en mémorial”, *wyḥgw klm ṯhrt ḥmqdš] lzkwrn*.

– C 8 : La lecture *lzkwrn* est certaine, au lieu de “*lywntn ḥml[k*” des éditeurs suivis par Qimron, etc. Est-il fait allusion à une dédicace de la victoire ou mieux de la purification du temple à célébrer, préoccupation importante des pieux et des prêtres sadocides (voir 2 M 2,16-18, *supra*) ? Le court *vacat* devrait signifier la fin d’une phrase, et la suivante commence soit avec *hmb[ṯh*, “La confiance”, ou *hmb[ḥr* “Le choix”, des restaurations également possibles, soit en soulignant la victoire donnée par la confiance en la force de la Prière, soit en indiquant le choix de la personne qui conduit la guerre, le contexte lacuneux ne permettant pas de trancher, bien que la ligne 9 puisse peut-être favoriser cette dernière suggestion.

– C 9 : La lecture *’t[’]zr* semble s’imposer “se revêtir, se ceindre”, (24) la suite est difficile mais les traces favorisent la lecture *’[z*, voir Ps 93,1.

Le texte devait sans doute continuer dans une colonne suivante.

Commentaire général

Malgré l’état très lacuneux du texte et les incertitudes de plusieurs passages, les restes paraissent mieux s’adapter à la situation décrite par la *Lettre MMT* au milieu du 2^e s., lorsque Jonathan Maccabée veut exercer, en plus du pouvoir militaire dont il avait hérité à la mort de son frère Judas en -160 (Flavius Josèphe, *Guerre I* § 48, *Ant.* XIII § 6), et les débuts de son pouvoir religieux sur tout Israël en -152-151, sans tenir compte des admonitions du grand-prêtre légitime l’adjuvant de revenir à l’authentique interprétation de la Loi. Les versets du *Psaume* 154 repris à la fin du *Psaume A* de cette colonne appuieraient cette interprétation : Yahweh prend soin des purs qui Le glorifient, de l’assemblée des Nombreux qui proclament Sa majesté ; Il multiplie Ses tendresses envers eux et au temps du malheur Il les délivre des adversaires.

(24) Les éditeurs, *cit.*, p. 423, ont proposé *mt[]∞[*, et Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 186, *yt[b]rk[*, sans doute en référence à B 9.

Le vocabulaire *rbym*, *ṭwbym*, *tmymym*, *'nyym* appuierait cette approche des “pieux hassidéens”. La *Prière* reprenant ce thème central du *Psaume*, il est difficile de concevoir l’embryon de la Communauté essénienne priant pour le bien-être du roi Alexandre Jannée, un demi-siècle après sa séparation définitive des Sadducéens et des Pharisiens, personnage dont le gouvernement et le grand sacerdoce sont totalement réprouvés, et qui est décrit comme le lionceau furieux (4QpNah/4Q169 II 2.8, 4QpOs^b/4Q167 2 1). (25) La *Règle* (IQS I 10, II 4-18) dans le dernier tiers du 2^e s. demandant explicitement de haïr ses ennemis n’autorise certainement pas une prière pour eux ni pour leur roi (= Jannée). La *Prière* elle-même C distingue Jonathan dans la conduite la guerre qui relève de sa fonction royale, et le groupe des pieux fidèles (*'tw*(?), les guerres menées ensemble, C 1-8). Aussi la mention du “roi Jonathan” n’est plus en elle-même une objection insurmontable pour une attribution de la *Prière* en faveur du roi Jonathan Maccabée si, vers -152-151 alors qu’il était encore temps (voir 1QpHab VIII 8-9 : « Ceci s’interprète du Prêtre Impie qui fut appelé du nom de fidélité au début de son avènement, (26) mais après qu’il eut dominé sur Israël, son cœur s’est enorgueilli, il a abandonné Dieu, trahi ses décrets ... »), le petit groupe autour du Maître authentique a prié pour lui et l’a supplié d’éviter une scission dans le peuple. La *Lettre* 4QMMT revêt aussi d’une autorité royale le grand-prêtre hasmonéen visé en l’encourageant à suivre les exemples de David et de Salomon, non celui de Jéroboam fils de Nebat ; (27) la comparaison ne porte que si le destinataire remplit la fonction de roi. Or 1 M 9,73 rapporte que Jonathan “s’installa à Michmas où il se mit à juger (κρίνειν) le peuple, et il fit disparaître les impies du milieu d’Israël”, ce qui n’est pas sans rappeler le pouvoir du premier roi Saül, et en conséquence être une allusion à la fonction royale de Jonathan, avant qu’il s’installe à Jérusalem (1 M 10,1-21). Jonathan juge le peuple, peut lever une armée, fabriquer des armes, est traité en grand ami du roi, porte le manteau de pourpre, l’agrafe et la couronne en or, est promu gouverneur et stratège (ἡγεούμενος en 1 M 13,8-53 traduit *mlk* en

(25) Une interprétation « Lève-toi, Ô Saint, contre le roi Jonathan et contre toute l’assemblée du peuple Israël ... » n’est pas possible dans la suscription, malgré dernièrement encore Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 344 et 376-83.

(26) Quand il accepta la nomination à la fonction de grand-prêtre en -152, voir 1 M 10,20, Flavius Josèphe, *Ant.* XIII §§ 45-46.

(27) Voir E. Qimron - J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V Miḡsat ma’aše ha-torah*, DJD X (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 4Q394-395-396-397-398-399, ajouter 4Q313, deux petits fragments en cryptique A, et E. Puech, « La Lettre essénienne MMT dans le manuscrit 4Q397 et les parallèles », *RdQ* 27 (2015) 99-135, où est donné le texte recomposé des “ordonnances” et de “l’épilogue” à l’aide des parallèles, avec mes restaurations en italiques.

Ez 43,7.7, et στρατηγός en 1 M 10,65 traduit *mlk* en Jb 15,24 et Dn 10,13). (28) Ce traitement de la part des Séleucides pouvait autoriser les insurgés à le reconnaître comme leur roi à la tête d'une armée de libération nationale, après la victoire sur Antiochus IV des frères Maccabées, Judas et Jonathan son successeur en -160. Ce dernier a bien commencé son gouvernement du peuple avant d'accaparer tous les pouvoirs et d'en arriver à la scission définitive. La conclusion qu'en tire 4QMMT : « Et cela te sera compté comme justice, quand tu auras fait[] ce qui est droit ⁶et ce qui est bien en Sa présence, pour ton propre bien et pour celui d'Israël », est à comparer à la suscription de la *Prière* (col. B). L'auteur du *Psaume* et de la *Prière pour le roi Jonathan*, certainement membre de la Communauté essénienne embryonnaire, (29) connaissait fort bien la situation et savait pertinemment de quoi il retournait en qualifiant, on ne peut plus clairement, Jonathan de roi en Israël, même s'il lui refusait la fonction de grand-prêtre légitime (col. C 2-3), tout comme l'auteur de 4Q245 qui ne l'a pas inséré dans les listes des grands-prêtres légitimes et des rois de lignée davidique. (30) 4Q448 B-C est alors le premier témoin de cette dénomination portée par Jonathan Maccabée et les Hasmonéens ensuite, et non par Aristobule fils de Jean Hyrkan, comme l'écrit Flavius Josèphe (*Guerre I* § 70, *Ant.* XIII § 301). Le titre de roi était-il alors moins formel que par la suite, on n'en a nulle indication.

Conclusion

Cette relecture attentive des restes en écriture cursive des fragments autorise une identification du roi Jonathan, fils de Mattathياهو, comme libérateur d'Israël, défenseur de la foi juive, conquérant et bâtisseur de Jérusalem-Sion. Jusqu'en -152 en effet, Jonathan jouissait d'une opinion favorable auprès du peuple ainsi que le rappelle le *Psaume A*, sans être pour autant inféodé aux parfaits. La *Prière pour le roi Jonathan* (B-C) entend l'encourager à persévérer dans sa mission de libérateur du peuple et des "pauvres", et de fêter la célébration de la purification du sanctuaire en mémorial. Ainsi l'identification du roi apporte-t-elle une

(28) Mt 2,22 et 14,9 donnent le titre de roi βασιλεύς à Archélaus, ethnarque de Judée, et Mc 6,14 donne le titre de βασιλεύς à Hérode Antipas, tétrarque de Galilée et de Pérée.

(29) La présence du manuscrit dans la grotte 4, le vocabulaire et la *Prière pour le roi* avant la rupture témoignent en ce sens, contrairement aux éditeurs, mais avec Vermes, *cit.*, p. 299. Il n'est pas nécessaire que la *Prière* soit dirigée contre le roi Jonathan (Jannée) pour qu'elle puisse entrer dans la Communauté qumranienne.

(30) Voir E. Puech, « Le manuscrit 4QPseudoDaniel^c - 4Q245 revisité », *RB* (à paraître).

information de premier plan qu'il est important d'insérer dans la liste des manuscrits historiques. (31) La composition de ces *Psaume* et *Prière pour le roi Jonathan* doit dater du milieu du 2^e s. av. J.-C., contemporaine de la *Lettre 4QMMT*, avant la rupture définitive en -150, en plein accord avec l'analyse paléographique ; elles sont toutes deux l'œuvre d'un auteur essénien, même si le *Psaume A* s'inspire en partie du *Psaume 154*. Avec *4QMMT* elle est une des plus anciennes compositions esséniennes dont seules des copies ultérieures ont été retrouvées pour en garder fidèlement la mémoire dans la Communauté.

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(31) Absent de la note de J.J. Collins, «Historiography in the Dead Sea Scrolls», *DSD* 19 (2012) 159-176. Voir E. Puech, « Les *Livres des Maccabées*, Flavius Josèphe et les Assidéens-Esséniens dans les manuscrits de Qumrân », (à paraître).

NOT 4Q101A (4QJOB^D), BUT 4Q82 (4QXII^G) HOSEA 2:5–7

IN a footnote in a 2012 article with epigraphic gleanings, Emile Puech transcribed part of an unpublished fragment with a few words from Job 15:16–18. (1) Two years later he published a short note on this fragment, PAM 43.662 frag. 19 which he named 4Q101a (4QJOB^d). (2) The photographic quality of PAM 43.662 is poor, and it is a feat that Puech was able to make sense of some of the traces. Puech was, apparently, not aware of the fact that most of the fragments in PAM 43.662 are found on the Museum Plate 94 which was photographed anew on PAM 43.697. (3) PAM 43.662 frag. 19 is the same as PAM 43.697 frag. 24. (4) After Puech's article, the new photograph of the fragment was uploaded as Plate 94 frag. 14 on The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. (5) This new image enables, for the first time, a correct reading and identification of the fragment. The legible text can easily be

(1) Emile Puech, "Glanures épigraphiques: le livre des Proverbes et le livre de Job à Qumrân," in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales; JSJSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 277–302, at 288 n. 36.

(2) Emile Puech, "Un quatrième manuscrit du livre de Job dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân (4Q101^a - 4QJOB^d)," *RevQ* 26/103 (2014): 431–33.

(3) Published in Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*; DJD XXXIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 269–73 and Pl. XXXVI. For an image of PAM 43.697 online, see <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285122>. On the relation between PAM 43.662 and PAM 43.697, not observed by the editors, see Eibert Tigchelaar, "On the Unidentified Fragments of DJD XXXIII and PAM 43.680: A New Manuscript of 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition, and Fragments of 4Q13, 4Q269, 4Q525 and 4QSB (?)," *RevQ* 21/83 (2004): 477–85, at 477 n. 2. See also my "Agreements Between PAM 43662 and PAM 43697." <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3229101>.

(4) Pike and Skinner read some letters of the bottom line. Cf. DJD XXXIII, 269.

(5) Illegible full spectrum color image: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-505700>; very well legible infrared image <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-505698>.

identified with words of Hosea 2:5–7 and the fragment comes from 4Q82. The fragment should be placed to the right of 4Q82 frags. 3 i and 4 i, and the first line of the fragment is contiguous with frags. 1–2 verso, 3 i, 4 i line 18. (6)

We can transcribe 4Q82 frags. 1–2 verso, 3 i, 4 i, and PAM 43.697 frag. 24 lines 16–20 as follows:

[יזרעאל אמרו לאחיכם עמי ולאחותיכם רחמה ריב באמכם] ר[י]ב	16
[כי היא לא אשתי ואנכי לא אישה ותסר זנוניה מפניה ונאפ[ו]פ[י]ה	17
[מבין שדיה פן אפשריטנה ערמה והצנתיה כיום הו]לדה ו[ש]מת[י]ה כמדבר ושתי	18
[כארץ ציה והמתיה בצמא ואת בניה לא ארח]ם כי בני ז[נ]ו[י]ם המה	19
[כי ונתה אמם הבישה הורתם כי אמרה אלכה א]חרי מאהב[י] נתני	20

One may quibble over some small details of this transcription. Do we see the utmost bottom tip of the left leg of *'alep* of אַחרי in line 20? And the strokes on the partly detached piece at the end of line 19 might perhaps be *nun-yod*, thus resulting in ז[נ]ו[י]ם rather than ז[נ]ו[י]ם. However, overall the reading is certain, and Puech's interpretation of the traces based on the partly illegible photograph PAM 43.662 and the proposal of a fourth Job manuscript should be laid to rest. (7)

More unidentified 4Q82 fragments on the plates in DJD XXXIII are PAM 43.676 frag. 7 which can be joined to 4Q82 frag. 76 (Jonah 1:1–3) and PAM 43.696 frag. 48 which can be joined to 4Q82 frag. 15 (Hosea 9:10–11). (8)

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(6) See the (preliminary) edition by Russell E. Fuller, "4QXII^e," in Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*; DJD XV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 271–318, at 276.

(7) Puech's reading of a palaeo-Hebrew *waw* at the beginning of the second line is understandable on the basis of the PAM photographs. The new LLDSSDL photographs show that at the right of the trace, which we can read as the left part of final *mem*, the surface of the skin is lost and that at the top left of the traces a small piece with ink has broken off. These kinds of surface damage are found throughout the 4Q82 fragments.

(8) Thanks are due to Rebekka Luther (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) with whom I discussed Cave 4 Job fragments and who reminded me of Puech's *Revue de Qumran* note with the 4Q101a proposal. The author is also a research associate of the University of Pretoria.

RECENSIONS

Benjamin Wold, *4QInstruction: Divisions and Hierarchies*, STDJ 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. xi, 237. 110,00 € / US \$132.00. ISBN 978-90-04-36144-7.

In the last decade the composite text 4QInstruction (1Q26; 4Q415-18; 4Q423) has been front and center in two debates: (1) the concept and definition of wisdom literature and (2) the development of sectarianism in early Judaism, particularly as it relates to the Dead Sea community. Wold's book fits more into the latter category. Scholarship on 4QInstruction often categorizes the text as dualistic and deterministic and reads it alongside the language of the "Sons of Light" vs "Sons of Darkness" in the Treatise of Two Spirits from the *Serek ha-Yahad* (1QS 3:13-4:26) and the book of Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299-301). The purpose of Wold's work is to challenge this thesis. Instead, Wold aims to demonstrate that 4QInstruction is an inclusive, non-dualistic, and non-sectarian work whose popularity waned with the rise of Torah-centric Judaism.

Chapter One examines the first-person references in 4QInstruction in order to determine the identity and status of the speaker in relationship to the implied audience of the text. While the first-person references are quite minimal, Wold broadens the dataset by suggesting that many third-person references should be read as first-person (e.g., 4Q418 222+221), which he then compares to other first person references in the scrolls such as the Self Glorification Hymn. After reviewing all these references anew, Wold ultimately agrees with Tighchelaar's hypothesis that the speaker throughout 4QInstruction is a *maskil*, similar to the teaching office one sees among the *yahad* in other scroll texts (e.g., 1QS; 5Q510-511). He bases this claim on two pieces of evidence, both of which are contentious among Qumran scholarship. First, he suggests there are enough similarities between these first-person references in 4QInstruction and clearly defined *maskil* texts in the scrolls to warrant the speaker in 4QInstruction holding that office (e.g., מוֹל שְׁפָתַי in 4Q511 63-64 ii 4 and 4Q491^c i 10). Second, he contends that the term *maskil* in 4QInstruction is better understood as a noun representing a teaching office rather than a generic *Hiphil* participle, a claim which he bases largely on the premise of his first argument. This is one area where he differs from most scholarship

on 4QInstruction, which tends to view the term *maskil* in the generic sense but does agree that the first-person speaker is a teaching figure. Along with defining the term *maskil* as teaching office, Wold contends that 4QInstruction views this office as being less exclusionary than other *maskil* scrolls. For Wold, being a *maskil* in 4QInstruction is a status description that any member of the community (called the *mebin* in 4QInstruction) can unlock. As he puts it, 4QInstruction addresses “a variety of students, each having it within their remit to become sages themselves” (80). What is not entirely clear, however, is how the speaker in 4QInstruction can be a *maskil* similar to what one sees in the *yahad* defined scrolls (e.g., 1QS) if 4QInstruction is pre-*yahad*? Wold wants us to interpret the term *maskil* as an office because of its usage in other *yahad* texts, but then appears to walk that back, not to mention this rhetorical move contradicts his request for scholarship to interpret 4QInstruction on its own terms in other places in the book.

Chapter Two and Three are much shorter chapters. Chapter Two examines all the “fleshy spirit” (רוח בשר) passages in 4QInstruction in order to question their typical dualistic interpretation (4Q417 1 i 1-18; 4Q418 81 + 81a 1-3; 4Q416 1:10-16). For Wold, the fact that the fleshy spirit “no longer” (עוד לוא) has revelation suggests that it once possessed it, which it subsequently lost due to choosing corruption (106-107). He contrasts this with the “fleshy spirit” language in the Thanksgiving Hymns where all of humanity are “fleshy spirits,” instead of simply a subset of the wicked. Furthermore, he suggests that passages such as 4Q416 2 ii 6 that refer to the *mebin*’s “holy spirit” is not a reference to their elect status and should be read more in light of their lowly/humble spiritual position (Also, cf. 4Q416 2 iii 11-12). Overall, Wold attempts to overturn the dualistic interpretation of 4QInstruction that suggests God pre-ordained an in-group and out-group from creation, which is how he interprets the Goff-Collins-Adams camp. Chapter Three deals with the relationship between Mosaic Torah and the Mystery of Existence (רוי נהיה). Here Wold contends the Mystery of Existence (*raz nihyeh*) subordinates and supplants Torah, often by “alluding to and re-writing it” (184; cf. 4Q416 2 iii 14-19; 4Q423 1). In this way, 4QInstruction is similar to other Second Temple texts (e.g., Jubilees), which also view “the Mosaic Torah as insufficient” (184). For Wold, the Mystery of Existence is not exclusive “secret knowledge” but a means of interpreting Torah’s hidden meaning that God has made available to all humanity. While Wold is surely correct here, more is going on with the *raz nihyeh* than elucidating Torah’s hidden meaning. Wold agrees that the Mystery of Existence is connected with the creation of the world and a tripartite division of time (4Q418 123 ii 3-4), making it much more comprehensive than Torah interpretation. Furthermore, if one allows the reader to examine the use of the phrase *raz nihyeh* in the Book of Mysteries (1Q27 1 i 3-4 = 4Q300 3 3-4) and in 1QS 11:3-4, it is clear that some form of esoteric revelation is in play.

Throughout his monograph, Wold offers new interpretations of key passages. For example, he reads בקר and the third person language in 4Q416 2 ii 12-15 in reference to God rather than debt slavery, and the phrase חכמת ידים as a reference to “lived wisdom” rather than manual labor. In this vein, Wold reinterprets many of the passages that 4QInstruction scholarship often

reads as evidence of the *mebin*'s inherent poverty and the precariousness of debt slavery (e.g., לעבד משכיל as "servant of a *maskil*" rather than "intelligent slave"). He also interprets the long-debated Enosh-Sethite passage in 4Q417 1 i 15-16 as a reference to humanity in general rather than Adam and contends that the phrase "sons of his truth" in 4Q416 1:10 refers to "angelic beings hastening to judgment" (111) rather than divine favor on the elect. Finally, he suggests the phrase "hand of Moses" in 4Q418 184 refers to the example of Moses as an "instrument of judgment," à la Korah's rebellion, rather than written Torah.

Wold's work is a sweeping attempt to change the status quo in scholarship over 4QInstruction. He questions many widely held interpretations and his suggestion that one interpret the text alongside other *maskil* literature rather than simply labelling it a wisdom text is a welcome one. Where I am not convinced is his attempt to mitigate all forms of election and determinism in the text. For example, he states, "To be in the lot of the holy ones is to be lifted from dismal, sinful, fleshy mortality (cf. separation from the 'fleshy spirit' in 4Q418 81 + 81a 1-2) to a place with the righteous community to whom are revealed knowledge of truth and wonderful mysteries (77)." If God is the one lifting you up, is this not election? His caution against reading determinism from other Qumran texts into 4QInstruction is a good one, but election and esoteric knowledge can exist without full-blown predestination. Wold seems to flirt with this idea in Chapter 2 when discussing Jonathan Klawans on the philosophical concept of compatibilism, but he never follows through with it. Instead, when Wold emphasizes the elect as those "who choose truth" (24) rather than being those chosen he appears to be reading 4QInstruction through an individualistic and Western lens at odds with what one often finds in Second Temple literature. Much of this literature often keeps determinism and choice in tension without clearly delineating their relationship to one another or the relationship between individual and communal action. Nonetheless, if the Mystery of Existence is a visionary experience given to the *mebin* directly or via their teachers, then the fact that only some received it entails some form of election. If the *mebin* can choose to reject this revelation or are predetermined to accept it does not seem to be on the radar of 4QInstruction. Likewise, passages such as 4Q417 1 i 14-15, which speak of heavenly engraved reward and punishments are hard to interpret without some form of election and divine revelation being at play (cf. 1QS 10:1; 1QH^a 9:26; 4Q400 1 i 5; 4Q405 19:5).

Regarding other aspects of his work, while I personally am not ready to throw out the interpretation of Enosh as a reference to the patriarch, I do not think we can discard the suggestion that the Hebrew term אנוש alludes to Adam as a way to describe the elect (such as in the phrase כבוד אדם in CD 10:8; 1QS 4:23). Wold is right that Adam often represents all of humanity in early Jewish and Christian literature (4 Ezra 7:10-14; Rom 5:12-18), but I would suggest that the writer of 4QInstruction is playing with Adam's connection to general humanity in order to overturn it. What seems to be clear is that 4QInstruction associates אנוש, however we define the term, with spiritual people, who have received some form of divine revelation, and not with the

fleshy spirits. Regardless if one wants to use the term election or not, אֲנוּשׁ is not associated with the latter. It is possible that the fleshly spirits once had the vision of Hagu and it was taken away from them for some reason, but the origins of the two different types of people do not seem to be a concern in 4QInstruction. All it states is that now there are two types of people based in part on their ability or inability to study the *raz nihyeh*. If this division was God's intent from creation or simply a result of some sort of falling out is information 4QInstruction does not give us as we have it. I am also cautious in using the "re-written Torah" model to describe the Mystery of Existence. Scholars such as Eva Mroczek, and Molly Zahn have argued that the terms "rewritten Bible" and "rewritten Scriptures" are not that useful without knowing exactly what Torah is in this time period. When he uses "rewritten Torah" as an analogy it is hard to know exactly what assumptions are behind this term for Wold. Finally, I personally found the structure of this book difficult to follow. A passage-by-passage rather than thematic approach is done throughout the field, but breaking down fragments and word studies is not as helpful when one has not clearly laid out the problems one is addressing and how such in-depth analysis helps solve those problems. This book's structure asks the reader to do a lot more work than needed to suss out its arguments and contributions to the debate. These caveats aside, Wold's questions are stimulating for discussion and challenges its readers to re-think accepted interpretations. I recommend it to all Second Temple scholars and anyone who wants a broader discussion on authority and community formation in early Judaism.

David A. SKELTON

Pieter B. Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema: A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, STDJ 121 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), pp. 356 + xvi + plates. 132,00 € / \$152.00. ISBN: 978-90-04-35354-1.

The monograph, a revised version of Hartog's 2015 KU Leuven dissertation, takes up a comparative project that seeks "to illuminate the background of commentary writing in Ancient Judaism" (6). This is achieved throughout the book via a series of detailed analyses of the Qumran Pesharim in comparison with the Alexandrian hypomnemata on the *Iliad*. The Scrolls are constantly kept in view, as parallels with the hypomnemata are invoked only to the extent that they help us to understand the complex nature of the Pesharim. Thus, while the project is a comparative one, it is forthcoming about its intention as a contribution to Qumran, rather than Classical, scholarship.

The central argument of the book is twofold: "First... that the Pesharim and the hypomnemata are at home in similar settings: both commentary traditions reflect the activities of communities of scholars, teachers, and intellectuals. Second... that the scholarly communities in which these commentaries were produced and read were part of intellectual networks that spanned the entire Hellenistic and Roman Near East..." (2). This two-part thesis runs through the

book, as the analyses of the Pesharim are conducted at each point against the backdrop of similar phenomena in the hypomnemata. The degree of correspondence between these two traditions does not point merely to something like a shared milieu; rather, Hartog explicitly makes the claim that “Alexandrian textual scholarship of the Iliad reached the authors and readers of the Pesharim” through “intellectual networks” (2). The transfer of knowledge is here understood as a process of “glocalisation,” in which the “global” Hellenistic-Roman culture is adapted to best fit “local” circumstances.

The book is very nicely structured. Chs. 2-10 fall easily into three separate parts, each consisting of three chapters. Within each of these three parts, the first chapter provides an overview and introduction to the topic under consideration while the second and third chapters investigate hypomnemata and Pesharim, respectively, in light of this topic. This deliberate structure serves as a very useful map for understanding where the argument is going, and how the discussion of even minor issues are meant to fit into the larger whole. Chs. 2-4 address the physical characteristics of the manuscripts in each tradition, and suggest that they are products of similar intellectual communities; chs. 5-7 explore the literary structure of each tradition; chs. 8-10 present hermeneutical profiles of each.

The central claim of chs. 2-4 is that the hypomnemata and the Pesharim are products of the same intellectual networks, and that “The scholarly background of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim is reflected in the physical characteristics of manuscripts of these commentaries” (64). Most of the characteristics addressed are paratextual scribal marks (corrections, additions, abbreviations, signs, sense dividers, divine names in the Pesharim), in addition to the physical dimensions of scrolls. Important here is the comparison brought out in ch. 4 between the marginal signs used in both traditions. “Having acquainted themselves with Greek scholarly practices through the intellectual networks to which they belonged,” Hartog writes, “the Pesher exegetes adopted some of these practices and adapted them to their own ends” (82). Most intriguing is the discussion of the signs in the intercolumnar margin of 4Q163 (4QPesher Isaiah C) 6 i-ii. I found myself very excited, if not fully convinced, by the discussion of the marginal *sigla* here. The signs are difficult to differentiate, and, as Hartog notes, “The use of these signs is not systematic” (99). The comparison with signs in the hypomnemata (of which there are plates at the end of book) is, however, quite illuminating even if the correspondence is not exact.

Chs. 5-7 explore the “bifold structure” (base text and interpretation) of the two traditions. The analysis of the hypomnemata in ch. 6 centers on the various structural aspects of the interpretation sections in these texts, including glosses, paraphrases, references, quotations, formulae, and the presence of multiple interpretations. The discussion is somewhat difficult to track for those uninitiated in the hypomnemata, but its importance becomes quite clear in the following chapter on the Pesharim. The comparative task that Hartog takes up is a very difficult one, and the sequence of these two chapters (6 & 7) demonstrates well the payoff that comes from considering these two traditions together. The analysis of the Pesharim in comparison with the hypomnemata shows “that the Pesharim are carefully constructed entities, in which the historical

memory of their commentators determines the contents, order, and arrangement of lemma-interpretation units" (179).

Part 3 (chs. 8-10) is the longest in the book, and it constructs a hermeneutical profile of each tradition. The categories that are used to compare the two traditions are adapted from Alexander Samely's work on rabbinic interpretation. These include perspectivization, normativity and application, analogy, structure, and single words, and Hartog explores the hermeneutical resources of both the traditions within these categories. The comparison in these chapters is quite compelling, and two primary differences emerge by the end. First, "whereas the composers of the hypomnemata mine the *Iliad* for information on a wide variety of topics... the Peshar commentators are interested only in the historical experiences of their movement and the connection of these experiences with Scripture" (290). Second, while either tradition "may neutralize or uphold the co-textual meaning of their lemmata... the Pesharim neutralize or redefine the co-text of their lemmata more frequently than the hypomnemata" (290). These various hermeneutical stances stem from different construals of the nature and origin of the base text, and Hartog draws out what seems almost an ironic contradiction. While Homer is understood as a historical person who was the conscious author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, his words are approached in the hypomnemata as "a timeless source of wisdom touching on almost every aspect of human life" (291). Timeliness is, by contrast, central to the hermeneutics of the Pesharim, which "stress the position of the Teacher of Righteousness... in the latter days... because the Teacher is living in the latter days, he acquires a full understanding of the words of the ancient prophets" (291). The words of scripture, for the Pesharists, are not timeless insofar as they were not fully knowable prior to the Teacher. This particularly narrow hermeneutical lens runs counter to the way in which many modern readers approach the Bible, and I found myself desiring more discussion of the implications of Hartog's insights about this hermeneutical perspective.

Overall, the book is an excellent work of scholarship. There are few typos ("co-textual demons"['!'] [278]), and the author's ability to engage with sources in Hebrew, Greek, English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian is quite impressive (see, e.g., 14 nn. 50-52). There are few who are able to explore in considerable depth two different corpora from the ancient world, and Hartog has set an example for how this ought to be done.

James NATI

Sarianna Metso, *The Community Rule. A Critical Edition with Translation*, Early Judaism and its Literature 51 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), pp. x + 59. \$29.00. ISBN 978-0-88414-056-6.

Ce livret veut donner une édition critique de la *Règle de la Communauté* accompagnée de la traduction anglaise de M. A. Knibb avec quelques rares adaptations suite à la publication des copies de la grotte 4, à l'exception de IQS X-XI. IQS avec ses XI colonnes de 26 ou 27 (VI.VII.VIII.IX) lignes réparties sur 5 feuilles de peau cousues est le texte complet de base. Une feuille de

garde, maintenant détachée, roulée à l'intérieur dans son dernier usage, portait le titre de la *Règle* et des Annexes *IQSa* et *IQSb*, comptant au moins 7 colonnes, annexes copiées par une même main et cousues à la suite. Mais le titre du manuscrit est à restaurer [*spr sr*]k *hyhd wmn*[...] comme il en est en *IQS* I 1 [*s*]p[*r s*]rk *hyhd*. La copie est datée du début du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. Sont brièvement présentés les restes des copies des grottes *4Q255-4Q264* et *5Q11*, ou textes apparentés *1Q29a* et *11Q29*. *4QS^d* (*4Q258*) commence avec *IQS* V, *4QS^e* (*4Q259*) finit avec un calendrier ('*ôôt*'), non avec le Psaume de *IQS* X-XI ; mais il conviendrait de préciser que le Psaume de *IQS* est aussi une forme de calendrier, chaque copiste aurait alors fait son propre choix à la fin de la copie de la *Règle*. Il est aussi rappelé que quelques passages de *IQS* recourent des copies du *Document de Damas* (*4Q266* 10 et *4Q270* 7) ou d'autres *Règles* (*4Q265*), ce qui peut poser question par ce qu'on entend par *Règle de la Communauté* comme texte déterminé. L'a. estimant impossible une telle édition se limite aux copies identifiées comme telles dans les éditions des *DJD* (p. 6). Elle donne une édition critique de la *Règle* avec les variantes dans l'apparat critique, et pour *IQS* V-VI et VIII-X, deux colonnes présentent des éditions parallèles, et de même une traduction en deux colonnes en vis-à-vis sur la page de droite. Les restaurations sont minimalistes, sauf dans les cas de copies parallèles ou quand une assurance de vocabulaire les permet. Sont soulignés les mots attestés comme variantes dans les copies ; noter que dans son édition Qimron use différents couleurs. Suit une bibliographie, somme toute, assez sélective.

Dans cette 'édition critique', il il aurait convenu de préciser des restes de lettres trop vite écartés qui peuvent donner des indications sur l'état du rouleau recopié ou sur l'application du scribe, des erreurs de lecture, des inattentions, la phonétique, etc. On peut aussi regretter que l'a. n'ait pas suivi les sigles usuels de l'édition des manuscrits de la mer Morte mais créé des sigles à nouvel usage (p. ix).

En *IQS* I 1, me paraît assurée la restauration l[*mš*kyl llmd kwl(?) b'n]šym lhyw [*s*]p[*r s*]rk *hyhd* : « Pour [l'instructeur, pour instruire chacun(?) des ho]mmes pour sa vie, [le li]v[re de la rè]gle de la communauté. », contrairement au renvoi de son livre en note avec 't sans l'article mais trop long pour l'espace. L. 2, lire 'l b[kwl lb]wb[kwl npš]l'šwt. L. 16, corrections de y{'<'>bwdw, puis de {'>}lpny. L. 18, n{h}<s>wym, *het* transformé en *samek* fermé, un des ductus de cette main, alors qu'un *samek* ouvert a pu être confondu avec *het*. L. 25, 'nw w[']bwtynw, puis b{h}lktnw. L. 26, pour l'espace, les traces et le sens, restaurer [qry bdrky] 'mt wšdyq['l[whynw bkwl]mšpřw bnw wb'bwty[nw], voir IV 17 et CD XX 29 : « ... en marchant ²⁶[à l'encontre des voies de]fidélité, mais juste[est notre D]i[eu en chacun de]Ses jugements envers nous et envers no[s] pères » ; wšdyq ne peut être traduit « and righteousness ». La restauration de Qimron [qry bħwqy] 'mt est trop chargée pour l'espace et wšdyq['l[yšr'l b]mšpřw est beaucoup trop courte.

En II 6, lire byd k{h}<wl>. L. 13, bš<w>m'w, et yhyw(?) corrigé en yhy. L. 21, {'>}y'bwrrw, *alep* peut-être reprenant 'hryhm. L. 26, les deux restaurations [bbryt] 'l et lw['] yihšb by]hd s'imposent avec le *yod* du verbe comme en *4QS^c*.

En III 1, *lmšwb* est de lecture assurée et bien préférable pour le sens, de même la lecture ybw'w, l. 2, puis wg<'>lym. L. 6, lb{'>}<ly>. L. 14, {w}lkwł.

L. 15, *m{h}<h>šbtm*. L. 19, *bm'yn* paraît bien préférable et graphiquement possible en parallèle à *wmmqwr* ensuite. L. 20, *{wb}y*d, *bet* réécrit sur *yod*. L. 21, insertion d'un *alef* réduit : *mmš{<'>}<lt*. L. 26, on ne comprend pas la proposition d'une dittographie, car une lecture []l[*drk*]yhn est bien trop courte au début de la ligne (et [w']l[proposée par l'a. est exclue pour la distance à la marge), ainsi que [w]l[py swd]yhn de Qimron. Lire ainsi cette ligne : []l[*mšpt*] yhn kwl 'bw dh w'l drkyhn[kw]l[p]qwdh 'hb 'l lkwl, sans nulle dittographie.

En IV 1, *mw'dy* est assuré, avec des restes de *waw* et de *mem* (voir photo en noir et blanc de Trever, 1972 : extrémité du *mem* et tête et bas de jambage de *waw*). L. 2, *w'<'>rk*. L. 6, *w{'}<h>b'*, *het* est retracé sur un '*alef*, puis '*{nš}<m>t*, large *mem* retracé sur *nun* et début de *šin*. L. 17, *mplgwt<'>*. L. 24, *b'mt* assuré, puis *yšn{y}<'>*, la diagonale du *alef* recouvre une partie du *yod* au tracé convexe, puis *'wl{w}<h>*, trace du jambage recourbé du *waw*. L. 26, restaurer avec assurance pour les espaces et la phraséologie ainsi la fin de l'*Instruction sur les deux esprits* : [mw']dn wynhyln lbny 'yš ld't t'wb[wr' ky'(?)] 'l ypyl gwrlwt lkwl hy lpy rwłw b'[t šlwmt]hpqwdh « Et Lui, Il connaît les activités de leurs œuvres pour toutes les périodes de ²⁶[leurs temps, et Il les a réparties aux fils d'homme pour la connaissance du bien[et du mal, car'(?)] Dileu fera tomber les sorts pour chaque vivant, selon son esprit, au mo[ment de la rétribution de] la Visite », pour *šlwmt]hpqwdh*, voir III 15. La lecture de Qimron 'l *hpyl* est trop chargée pour l'espace, en revanche la restauration *bm[mw'd]hpqwdh* est beaucoup trop courte ; l'a. retient *hpyl* et [*mw'd*]. Il y a de légères traces de *dalet* en [mw']dn, et '*aïn* est graphiquement bien meilleur que *mem* pour b'[t. La traduction n'est pas adaptée au texte retenu.

En IQS V commence le *Règlement* de la Communauté. Le premier mot copié a été effacé et remplacé par *wzh hsrk* ... ; la correction vise sans doute à assurer, dans cette copie, un lien textuel avec ce qui précède. Le *waw* a été repris dans la marge sous sa forme paléohébraïque, alors que le *gimel* dans la marge en haut à droite de *4QS^d* numérote l'ordre des feuilles de la copie pour la couture, comme l'a signalé Milik. *4QS^{b,d}* lisent *mdrš lmskyl 'l* ... comme début de texte, d'où la présentation des versions sur deux colonnes. Le mot effacé en IQS V 1 est, à mes yeux, certainement à lire [{*lmš* }k[y]l }, parfait pour l'espace à la marge, avec encore des bons restes de *kaf* entre *zān* et *he* et de *lamed* à gauche de la tête de *he*. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre dans cette copie de la *Règle*, le mot reprenant ce même premier mot déjà en tête en IQS I 1 a été effacé pour ne pas donner l'impression de deux débuts de manuscrit(s). La copie du *Règlement* à la suite d'une Introduction générale et de traités aux col. I-IV est donc à l'origine de ce changement en V 1, afin de marquer une continuité du texte d'une part, tout en rappelant l'autonomie première du texte à recopier, d'autre part. Cette importante correction prouve ainsi l'état final de la réunion de différentes parties de la *Règle* en un seul manuscrit vers 100 av. J.-C., confirmant ainsi les résultats de l'analyse littéraire. L. 2, { '*n* } <'> l'py, correction qui ne peut séparer les mots. L. 3, le *waw* joint à '*mt* a été effacé et réécrit comme *yod* en plus petit format et rattaché au mot *yhd*. En V 5, l'haplographie de *kaf* s'explique assez aisément par la séquence *w-k-y* sans autre considération. L. 12, { *m* } šptym, *mem* exponible et effacé. L. 13, { *h* } <'> nšy, *he* transformé en *alef*. L. 14, dans *wbhw{š}<'>w*, *šin* exponible et effacé avec correction par un large *nun* médian supra-linéaire.

L. 16, $m\{w\}\langle' \rangle wm\{\}'h$. L. 22, $r\{y\}b$, *yod* exponctué et effacé. L. 25, $b'mt$, traces de *mem*. Le texte de *IQS* est plus long que l'état plus ancien conservé par *4QS^{b,d}*. En V 26, outre les restaurations assurées par les parallèles de *4QS* pour la première lacune, la dernière lacune doit être lue [$b'wr$]/[t] *lbbw*, avec les auteurs. Corrections de $w\{\}'\langle' \rangle l$ et de *bywm*{*yw*}.

En VI 1, correction par une autre main de $b\{w\}\langle' \rangle lh$. Ll. 4-6, la longue dittographie a été notée dès le début. Le mot effacé en VI 10 paraît être {*trm*}, probable dittographie. L. 15, *wlbynhw* a été corrigé en {*wl*} $\langle w^h \rangle bynhw$, le pied du *lamed* transformé en *waw*. L. 17, $m\langle w \rangle l't$. L. 20, { $\}'\langle' \rangle l$. L. 22, $wl\{^h\}wrh wyh\langle' \rangle$. L. 24, $w'l\langle^h\} hmšptym$, haplographie devant l'article. En VI 26, l'orthographe *b'mrwt* peut-elle être le répondant phonétique de *bhmrwt* ?, voir *CD IX 10*. Si les lectures $lw(\cdot) wn\{\}'n's$ ne font aucune difficulté, la dernière restauration *hk[twb btrwh]* de Qimron, possible et probable, n'est pas totalement assurée par le ductus très rectiligne inhabituel du *kaf*.

En *IQS VII 1*, le mot effacé après exponctuation est à lire {*whbdylhw*}, apodose écrite par erreur avant la fin des protases. L. 2, du *mem* de *mn*, restes du départ du trait oblique mal conservé. L. 3, correction de { $\}'\langle' \rangle l$. À la fin de la l. 6, dittographie de { $w'm bhwn hyhd$?} effacée. Avec *brwšw*, l. 7, il y a l'espace des lignes 8-9 laissé en blanc (pas de *vacat*), le texte continue à l. 10 de la feuille, non l. 8. Plusieurs corrections et l'addition de la punition oubliée *ššym ywm*, puis en $yfw\{h\}\{\langle r \rangle\}\langle' \rangle$, *het* d'abord corrigé en *reš* par dessus la lettre, mais étant peu distinct a été réécrit au-dessus de la ligne, puis {*h*} $\langle b \rangle mšpt$, enfin les deux derniers mots de la l. 10 ont été mis entre parenthèses lors de l'addition supra-linéaire, puis les parenthèses ont été effacées, comme pour signifier le libre choix de la punition « deux mois/un an ». L. 12, *hnp*{*h*} $\langle t \rangle r$. L. 13, $w\{\}'\langle h \rangle nm$ mais *he* parfois proposé paraît impossible par le ductus, puis $yz\{k\}\langle q \rangle pw$. L. 16, $wnr\{\}'\langle' \rangle th$. L. 21, 'l corrigé aussitôt en *lw'*. Les mots exponctués et effacés *rhym* et *bthrt*, de lecture assurée l. 22, sont mes lectures en *RdQ 37* (1979), p. 39, mais comprendre $lw' ygš bmsqh$, *bet* effacé par erreur avec le reste mais non exponctué. À la l. 24, j'ai déjà donné les lectures des passages effacés : { $ys'l$ 'l *hmšpt w'l*}, puis {*lbqwd byhd*} et le texte raturé à la l. 25 { $d mlw't lw' šr šnym$ } comme en *4QS^e*, ce qui peut avoir un intérêt pour l'histoire de la/des copie(s) de *IQS*. Mais l. 24, addition de *waw* $\langle w \rangle kwl$ et double correction en $b'snt$, d'abord *šade* supra-linéaire, effacé, puis *zain* transformé en *šade*. L. 26, $hyh[d]$ 'šr $yt'rb$. La première lacune de la ligne 27 est à comprendre avec Qimron 'š[r *lw' kmšpt*] *hrbym*, et ensuite restaurer avec assurance $lšl[h hw'h m't]m$ avec trace du *mem* final avec VII 18. Un signe de type paléohébraïque combiné en bas dans la marge de droite doit signifier la fin de la section du *Règlement*.

Col. VIII, en parallèle sont donnés les maigres restes de *4QS^d* à partir de la l. 7 avec les variantes soulignées. Contrairement à l'apparat critique (p. 40), lire avec certitude *whthlk* avec les éditeurs en *4QS^e* (voir B-295972). Avec la col. VIII commence la copie d'une première étape de la fondation de la Communauté. L. 4, *b'mdt*, 'ain en partie effacé, mais assuré. L. 5, préciser que le copiste a d'abord écrit $b'mt$ {*lmt* 't} *b't*, ce dernier corrigé en $\langle l \rangle \{b\} m\langle t \rangle 't$ (voir *RdQ 37*, p. 40), non avec l'a. {*l*} *vacat*. L. 6, *4QS^e* lit bien *whbry*, comparer *wb*{*w*}*hry* de *IQS* avant la correction *whbry*. L. 7, un *lamed* a été ajouté dans

la marge en < l> rš'ym, puis la lecture hy'h demande de lire l'ajout yswdwtyhy, l. 8, (non yswdwtyhw de l'a.) alors que le copiste avait laissé l'espace pour le mot à la fin de la l. 7. L. 9, ajout supra-linéaire de ryh. Il importe de rendre compte de corrections des scribes, l. 10 : d'abord lhwqt corrigé en lhwq<w>t (waw au-dessous), puis en lh{wqw}<qw>t (waw exponctué et qw effacés, puis rajoutés) comme en 4QS^d ; ensuite après avoir d'abord écrit ymym ybdlw et une première correction supralinéaire btmy m drk, il a exponctué le bet de la correction et effacé btmy m drk et ybdlw réécrivant btmy m drk (bet sur yb, la suite un peu au-dessous) et reporté ybdlw qwdš d'abord faussement au début de la l. 10, correction effacée et reportée au début de la l. 11. Enfin, l. 10, la longue addition intralinéaire d'une autre main whyw ... finit avec w'y n 'wlh par delà les lettres effacées, elle est inconnue des copies 4QS. L. 11, {t}<h>n>str, taw en partie effacé, le jambage gauche lu comme nun. L. 13, le copiste a d'abord commencé par écrire, {byš} effacé, puis ybdlw bkwl, ce dernier mot corrigé en mtwk, et une autre main a ajouté au-dessus btkwnym h'h, après avoir ajouté lyhd à la l. 12. 4QS^e 3a 3 lit simplement ybdlw (m)mwšb avec haplographie du mem, mais auparavant, le scribe a écrit un mot difficile à déchiffrer, peut-être {byhd}, qu'un copiste a corrigé en alphabet cryptique A : byšr', et ce même copiste a encore usé du cryptique au début de la ligne suivante avec 'n{š}'y h'wl[, de lecture certaine dans un espace laissé en blanc (voir Puech, RdQ 71 [1998] 429-35), suivi de llkt hmdbr[en alphabet usuel, voir les photographies numérisées B-295966, 295969, 314657. Une variante est à souligner šm]h 't drk h'mt en 4QS^e comparée à šm 't drk hw'h' (= hw'h '(l ?) de IQS). En VIII 15, le copiste a commencé par écrire pš(r) corrigé en mdrš, puis la lecture '[š]r est assurée. 4QS^e 3a 6 passe directement de byd mšh de IQS VIII 15 à 'lh hšqym de IX 12, témoin d'un texte plus court. En VIII 19, ykt{h}, he exponctué. L. 23, bh<w>nw. L. 26, est seul préservé ['l[py]hrbym, sans trace de yod.

En IX 1, {wl} écrit par erreur a été effacé. L. 3, dans la marge précédant le court vacat, un signe composé de zāin surmonté d'un accent circonflexe et de samek en paléo-hébreu [j'avais esquissé de le comprendre comme z(h) s(wp)] n'est pas entièrement expliqué. L. 5, h{rw}<h>y'h. L. 8, {tmy m}<hqwd>š, par saut visuel avec btmy m peu après. L. 11, ny'. IQS a un texte plus long que 4QS^d, et connaît un long vacat, la demie-ligne 11, la l. 12 avec un retrait au début de la l. 13, qui change la numérotation habituellement retenue. Cette coupure n'est pas marquée en 4QS^e 3a. L. 19, lhnhw{m}<tm> ainsi corrigé même après exponctuation du waw. L. 22, <l>mšk{h}<yl>, insertion de lamed dans l'espace entre les mots. L. 26, restaurer [w]bkwl, lecture certaine, puis lw' šwh[w]lmšpt 'l. Après le parallèle avec cette ligne 26 et un vacat, commencent les 'ôtôt en 4QS^e. L. 27, lire [bkwl 'šr]hyh (tracé de he certain, non de qof à la cassure) ybrk 'wšyw wbkwl 'šr yhyh ysp[r hšdyw wtrwmt]špty m ybrknw. Avec cette ligne semble commencer la présentation du Psaume final en IQS.

Col. X 1 : Si le copiste avait copié hq q 'l, comme l'a écrit l'a., on ne comprend pas pourquoi il aurait effacé le lamed et gardé alef. On ne comprend pas non plus pourquoi lire 'lt(bl) en X 2, mais restaurer 'lt en 4QS^d (p. 50) ? Le nun suivi d'un blanc était probablement dans la mémoire du scribe pour nwr'

souvent en parallèle à *gdwl*, e. g. *Ml* 3,23, *Ps* 111,9, etc. L. 6, le copiste a effacé *šdq* écrit par erreur, et partiellement le *paragraphos* au-dessus, puis il a corrigé *'brknw* en *hbrknw* (fautif ?), comparé à *'brknw* de *4QS^{b,d}*, de même *hbhrh*, l. 12. Puis il a corrigé *{h}šnym* comme en *4QS^{b,d}*. Aux ll. 8-9, il a effacé la séquence *'š' // bqw* qui se retrouve dans la ligne suivante, sans doute par saut visuel dans le rouleau à recopier. *4QS^f* 2a ii lit sûrement *wknwr nbly* comme *IQS*, voir B-361361 avec toutes les autres photographies, malgré les éditeurs, seul *4QS^d* lit *'k' nbly*. L. 10, correction de *'bw{h}<'h>*, puis *'šyb* de *4QS^d* est traduit comme *'šym* de *IQS* « I will set ». L. 13, correction de *br{š}<'>šyt* en cours de copie, même orthographe ensuite. L. 14, pas de correction de *bet* sur *mem* mais sur *'aîn* en *{'}m'rbt*, commençant probablement à écrire *'rbt*. Il n'y a pas de reprise en *wbmkwn*, l. 15, mais simplement les orthographe *bršyt* et *bwqh* comparés à *br'šyt* et *bwq'* de *4QS^f*, de même l. 16, les formes *mwdh* et *m'dh* respectivement. La fin de la l. 16 est plus brève en *4QS^f*. L. 18, *bṭwb* et *whw'h* comparés à *ṭwb* et *hw'* de *4QS^f*. Le copiste a retracé un *waw* distinct après avoir trop rapproché *nun* dans *wlh{w}<w>n*, l. 19. Il a ajouté un *šin* oublié après le précédent pour *<š>ht*, et il a effacé *'nš šht lhb'* pour écrire *'ṣtpwš 'd ywm* en supra-linéaire, mais la proposition *'{ṭwb b'p lšby}* n'est pas possible d'après les restes. Enfin, il a corrigé en effaçant *alef* dans *w'py{'}*, de même *4QS^f*. L. 20, *b'p* manque en *4QS^f* qui a une proposition supplémentaire [*lw' ...*] *'nšy* [, entre *pš'* et *'rhm*. L. 21, *bnk'ym* est à comparer à *bnkwhym* de *4QS^f*, puis correction de *wbl{bbw}<y'l>*, et *waw* retracé. L. 22, *'wwn* est une correction sur *'{t<'>m}*, puis *4QS^f* lit *kzbyn* au lieu de *kzbym*. L. 24, correction après exponctuation de *'s{t}<p>r*. L. 25, restaurer *[b]dt* et *'hlqh* de lecture assurée. Enfin, l. 26, le *alef* à la première cassure autorise la restauration *w'['šh 'mt mšpt]šdq*, voir VIII 2, et à la fin de la ligne, lire avec certitude *lnmhr[y lb lhwdy]* pour les espaces et le sens, avec *Is* 35,4 et 29,24.

Col. XI 1 : La citation d'*Is* 29,24 demande de comprendre *rwknym* comme *rwgnym* (assonance ?), puis *(b)'nwh* en parallèle à *wbrwh*. L. 2, correction de *{t'}* *<wmq>ny*, puis comprendre *yšwr* comme *ywšr* (métathèse). L. 4, le scribe a copié *yzd 'zr'* pour *yzd'z'*. Au début de la l. 5, *{m}<s>l'* avec un grand *samek* fermé écrit sur un *mem* confondu avec un *samek* de type ouvert de la copie. L. 6, *m'n<w>š*. L. 7, plusieurs corrections *l'š{š}<'>*, *l'wh{w}<z>t* pour *l'hwt*, et *wynhy{š}<'>m*. L. 9, le mot *{'dm}* (départ de *alef* et fin de *mem* lisibles) a été exponctué par trois points au-dessus et au-dessous. L. 10, haplographie de *lw'* devant *l'dm*, (*cit.* Jr 10,23). L. 11, correction de *w{'}<k>wl*. L. 16, la hampe du premier *lamed* de *l'* est partiellement effacée, puis deux points dans l'espace des mots avant *brwk* signalent le début du paragraphe marqué par le *paragraphos* marginal. Aux lignes 16-21, les parallèles de *4QS^f* sont en *scripta defectiva* contrairement à *IQS*. L. 20, addition en *bn <h>'dm*. L. 21, lire *mšw/yrwq* comme en *4QS^f*, mais certainement pas *mšwrrq* (l'a. avec les éditeurs) ; le mot est une formation inversée (palindrome) de la racine *qrš* qui suit, ligne 22 ; c'est un substantif toujours en relation avec le modelage d'argile dans les divers emplois qumraniens. J'ai expliqué la signification de ce mot à lire et à comprendre *mšwlyrwq hmr* « un pâton d'argile », voir E. Puech, « Note de lexicographie hébraïque qumranienne (*mšwlyrwq*, *mḥšbym*, *šwt*) », dans *Solving Riddles*

and *Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. by Z. Zevit, S. Gittin, M. Sokoloff (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 181-89. Ce mot se retrouve en *IQH* XX 35, XXIII 28.36 et en *4Q511* 28-29 3-4 (là écrit clairement *mšyrwq*). *4QS^b* a préservé des restes de deux autres lignes avec une expression bien attestée en *IQS* I 17 et V 8 :] *kkwl* 'š[r.

Les restes des manuscrits des autres grottes étant très fragmentaires, il est nécessaire de restaurer au mieux chaque passage pour évaluer l'état du texte, souvent plus bref, afin d'en tirer le meilleur profit pour une histoire de la composition et de la transmission de la *Règle*. Seuls quelques points ont été signalés ici en passant, mais un gros travail bien commencé reste à faire. L'a. a-t-elle donné l'édition critique de la *Règle* ? Le lecteur se fera sa propre opinion. Mais en conclusion d'une édition critique, un point important me semble devoir être souligné : l'état de *IQS* vers -100 est témoin de diverses étapes attestées par des copies de compositions de la première génération qumranienne et des tout débuts de la génération suivante, en gros entre 150 et 100 av. J.-C., ce qui est un résultat très appréciable pour l'histoire de la Communauté essénienne, son idéal et son organisation. Les copies plus récentes de contenu et de format divers ne préjugent pas d'une mise en application différente. (1)

Émile PUECH

Pieter B. Hartog, Alison Schofield, and Samuel I. Thomas, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Study of the Humanities: Method, Theory, Meaning: Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies (Munich, 4-7 August, 2013)*, STDJ 125 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. ix + 221. 99,00 € / \$119.00. ISBN 978-90-04-37639-7.

As anyone in higher education can attest, the humanities are in crisis. Whether attributable to decreased funding and public interests or factors within the guild itself, this crisis has rightly gained the attention and raised the concern of scholars. The *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Study of the Humanities* (edited by Pieter B. Hartog, Alison Schofield, and Samuel I. Thomas [STDJ 125; Boston: Brill, 2018]) positions itself as a response to this situation, assembling a partial collection of papers from a much larger conference that dealt with how a subfield within the humanities (scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls) can incorporate, contribute to, and learn from other areas of humanistic research. As a result, the volume contains a wide range of essays addressing an impressive diversity of topics. It showcases how the interaction between Scrolls scholarship and theories and methods from the humanities can provide deeper insight

(1) Voir un exemple de l'application de la *Règle* à un nouvel entrant, E. Puech, « L'ostracon de Khirbet Qumrân (KhQ1996/1) et une vente de terrain à Jéricho, témoin de l'occupation essénienne à Qumrân », in *Flores Florentino. Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. A. Hilhorst, E. Puech and E. Tigheelaar, (*JSJS* 122; Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2007), 1-29.

both into the archive from the Judean desert as well as how this archive relates to broader issues in humanistic research.

Because of the wide-ranging nature of topics in this volume, it is not possible to provide an in-depth analysis of each contribution; instead, I will focus on the thesis of each chapter as it relates to the purpose of the book. In the introduction, Eibert Tigchelaar and Pieter Hartog provide an overview of the proceedings, and describe the purpose of the volume as a way to connect the study of texts from Qumran with the humanities and social sciences, as well as to demonstrate how this area of research sheds light on the history of culture and religion. Reinhard Kratz, the keynote speaker of the conference, provides an essay that shows how biblical studies has benefitted from the concrete evidences of textual growth that manuscripts from the Qumran display, and he argues advances in the study of the Bible, particularly the supplementary hypothesis (*Fortschreibungshypothese*), can shed light on textual features of the Temple Scroll.

Samuel L. Adams offers a helpful incorporation of postcolonial theory within the historical and imperial contexts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In particular, Adams complicates the often overwrought distinction between hybridity and resistance, and he demonstrates how mimicry and resistance are both evident in a number of sources in the Qumran scrolls, such as the pesharim. Kipp David provides a “new/material philology” analysis, leveraged from medieval studies, to reconstruct the socio-historical situation of the earliest Jeremiah fragment (4Q70). In this fashion, he utilizes text criticism to explore more robustly the social location of the production of this fragment. Matthew Goff explores the manner in which Claude Lévi-Strauss’s structuralist insights can explain the episode in 1 Enoch 6-11 in which the union opposing pairs (heaven and earth) results in the destruction of the earth itself, a tension that is resolved only when God controls each domain and the relationship between the two. In this fashion, Goff employs the anthropological study of the category of “myth” to interpret a fundamental literary issue in 1 Enoch.

Pieter B. Hartog provides a rhetorical exploration of the pesharim texts, noting the manner in which the commentaries engage and subvert their sources texts while also constructing their own authorial voices. The result is a better picture of how the Qumran pesharim operate as commentaries within Second Temple Judaism and, as a result, Hartog’s study also provides a platform for cross-cultural comparison between the pesharim and interpretive texts from other times and communities. Taking cues from the physical layout of the text, Mattias Hopf explores the dynamics of 4QCant^B as a dramatic text. In other words, the text itself, in its physical appearance, may offer insight into the manner in which it was performed, perhaps liturgically. Drew Longacre situates the struggle to understand damaged texts in historical perspective, demonstrating how cross-cultural comparison from Greek and Akkadian sources can illuminate how the copyist of 1QIsa^a likely treated the manuscripts in existence at that time. The implications for textual criticism, in which a manuscript may already reflect a process of ancient textual restoration and analysis, are thoroughly explored.

Simone Paganini analyzes the book of Jubilees through a narrative lens, offering conclusions on the role of Moses in this light, particularly relative to the angel: Moses is disempowered and the angel receives the divine message. Alison Schofield employs spatial theory to unlock, in the Community Rule and 4QMMT, how the sectarian members used disciplines and practices in these texts to conceive of their bodily experiences in the world. She effectively demonstrates how this community navigated urbanism (the *polis*) and the wilderness, in an attempt to “live in harmony with one’s *own* nature,” and how spatial theory allows us to understand better the manner in which the sectarian community organized their own space as a means of situating “their somewhat-ambiguous priestly place” in it. Finally, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar critically assesses the legacy of William Schniedewind’s theory of Hebrew as an anti-language at Qumran and Steven Weitzman’s proposal that Hebrew was a holy language at Qumran. For Tigchelaar, in distinction to Schniedewind (followed by Rendsburg), the presence of Hebrew at Qumran exists in a sociolinguistic plurality, in a “large heterogeneous collection of writings.” It cannot be assumed to be a monolith to be juxtaposed against a spoken vernacular (about which we know very little during this period), but rather should be examined in all its “differently coded varieties.”

The introduction offers a brief synopsis of some of the other papers delivered at the conference and not included in the current volume. While some of those contributions will likely appear elsewhere, one wonders how the other papers would have shaped a volume directed specifically towards engaging the question of how scrolls scholarship relates to larger humanistic inquiry. The descriptions of these other papers left this reviewer wanting more, which is, of course, a testament to the timeliness and value of the book even as is. The editors and authors have created a volume that serves as a model for how scholars should speak outside our own subfields, a necessary and urgent task in the face of the crisis of the humanities both in the academy and in society in general. For this contribution, and many others, the book is not simply a welcome publication in biblical studies, but also a vital example for demonstrating how the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls relates to a variety of other disciplines.

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